

The Ryedale Historian

Number 30

2020–2022



Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society

The Ryedale Historian is the biennial journal of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society and has been publishing the results of archaeological investigations and historical research in the Ryedale area since 1965.

The Society was founded in 1950, originally as the Helmsley and Area Group of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, for the purpose of archaeological and historical research on Ryedale and the dissemination of that research through lectures and discussion and later through publication in *The Ryedale Historian*.

The Society is a registered charity (No. 1089682) with a current membership of over one hundred. From September to April it provides a programme of illustrated lectures held at the North York Moors National Park Authority headquarters in Helmsley. During the summer months, it holds a series of visits to sites and locations of interest to its members.

For information on how to join the Society and its current programme of lectures and visits, please visit its website at www.helmsleyarchaeologicalandhistoricalsociety.org.uk.

Front cover image: The south and east sides of the West Tower, Helmsley Castle.
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Editorial

Traditionally, the *Ryedale Historian* has been published every two years but Issue 30 covers three years due to the effects of the Covid pandemic. How good it is to be back on schedule!

Issue 29, edited by Rowena Godfrey, came out just weeks before the first pandemic lockdown in February 2020 stopped our winter lectures, summer excursions and plans for another issue. Due to family commitments, Rowena is not able to continue in her editorial role so I have returned as editor of our journal. Issue 30 has been produced to coincide with the first lecture of the winter season in September 2022. Thanks to our honorary chair, Jen Harris, we have a full and stimulating winter programme of talks to look forward to in the coming months.

Moving from the pre-Roman to the early twentieth century, the articles in Issue 30 take on a broad range of topics and themes: the origins of Ryedale place-names, the West Tower of Helmsley Castle, the industry that grew up alongside the Pickering to Whitby railway in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the old Quaker burial ground in Helmsley. I am very grateful indeed to the contributors not only for their scholarship and skills in crafting their articles but also for their patience throughout the long periods of lockdowns and uncertainty until their articles could be published.

I am particularly proud of our book review section which focuses on the medieval period. The section begins with reviews of two long-anticipated books which cover important aspects of Anglo-Saxon Ryedale – *St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale* by Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts and *Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire* by Thomas Pickles; these are followed by a consideration and appreciation of *Interpreting Medieval Effigies* by Brian and Moira Gittos. I urge members of the Society to bring to my attention any literature on the history and archaeology of Yorkshire and the north which may be suitable for review in our journal. Almost all the books which are reviewed in the *Ryedale Historian* may be found in the Society's library.

Farrell Burnett
Honorary Editor

The West Tower of Helmsley Castle

John R. Kenyon

Helmsley Castle was founded by Walter Espec in the first half of the twelfth century (see Plan 1 on outside back cover).¹ The only fragment of masonry dating to this period that remains is the footings of a 2m-wide wall that divided the central platform of the Castle into two halves and, probably, part of the chamber block. Walter died in 1154 and the castle passed to his brother-in-law, Peter de Ros, and then around 1157 to Peter's son, Robert. It was not until Robert de Ros II (*c.* 1181–1226/7), sometimes known as Fursan, inherited it that Helmsley Castle underwent major reconstruction. Further work was undertaken by the de Ros family in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, notably the south barbican and the great hall and attendant service range.

The Castle was in the hands of the Manners family of Belvoir (the dukes of Rutland) in the sixteenth century, with the Duke of Rutland's brother living in the mansion built from the 1570s. Much of the medieval fabric was destroyed following the parliamentarian siege in 1644, but the Elizabethan row of buildings appears to have remained occupied until the later owners, the Duncombes, moved to adjacent Duncombe Park, built in the early eighteenth century.

The southern defences of the core of Fursan's castle consisted of a gate tower, in the southeast corner, with a curtain wall running west to a D-shaped tower. The northern defences consisted of a twin-towered (D-shaped) gatehouse linked to almost circular towers at the northwest and northeast corners; the main entrance to the castle at this date may have been from the north. Off-centre in the east curtain wall lies the great east tower, overlooking the town, originally of two floors, but heightened in the early fourteenth century, to give it its current appearance, at least as far as its west wall is concerned. It is this tower that has tended to attract the most attention, even though its outer face was destroyed following the 1644 siege.

However, opposite the east tower stands the domestic range, or row of buildings, overlooking the medieval deer park to the west. This range, much altered in the late sixteenth century, consisted of a chamber block, at the southern end of which stood the solar tower, the subject of this article. It is this tower that stands in a near complete state, although lacking floors and a roof (see Figures 1–3; Plan 2 on back cover). The solar was the main private living room of the owner, usually on an upper floor, with its own facilities such as a latrine, and sometimes with its own kitchen, making the tower independent of the rest of the household accommodation.

The size of the west tower, enlarged, heightened and re-fenestrated in the first half of the fourteenth century, and heightened and re-fenestrated further in the late sixteenth century, may have discouraged scholars in viewing it as a solar tower, akin to the later structures to be seen at Longthorpe Tower in Huntingdonshire and Little Wenham in Suffolk. There is no mention of the tower in Wood's study of the medieval house², nor in other publications such as Blair's analysis of hall and chamber³. In fact, if one looks through the entire major 'text books' on castles in the last 100 years or so, the west tower is rarely mentioned, apart from guidebooks and learned articles. An analysis by Colin Biden of the external fabric of the tower exists as an unpublished five-page typescript in the Helmsley Castle archive held in English Heritage's Helmsley Store.⁴



Figure 1: The south and west sides of the West Tower, Helmsley Castle.
© J.R. Kenyon.

The tower and the adjacent chamber block emphasise that the Castle was not just about defence, but also provided lordly living. The range was built originally by Robert de Ros around 1200, lying partly over the twelfth-century wall. Throughout its existence it provided fine private accommodation, as it was a solar, a private chamber that provided the most intimate accommodation on one or more floors for the castle's owners, away from the adjacent small hall on its north side. It could be argued that it represents one of the finest examples of a solar tower in the country.



Figure 2: The north and west sides of the West Tower, Helmsley Castle. © J.R. Kenyon.

When first built, it contained a basement with two floors above, providing extensive views over the parkland to the west, the outer (west) wall being on the same alignment as the hall range on its north side. The rooms were probably subdivided into at least two chambers per floor. In the early fourteenth century the tower was heightened, another floor being added, and the original west wall was demolished and rebuilt to create another bay, closer to the inner ditch. A latrine was provided on each floor in the southwest corner; a doorway in the southeast corner on what may have been the original upper level appears to have led to a latrine or the curtain wall. In the southeast corner a door led on to the curtain wall. The third floor was added in the sixteenth century, with the existing floors lowered to accommodate it. At the same time new windows and fireplaces were provided; the provision of two fireplaces per upper floor indicate that each floor had two rooms. We cannot be certain whether this arrangement repeated the original medieval distribution of chambers.



Figure 3: The south and east sides of the West Tower, Helmsley Castle.
©J.R. Kenyon.

Steps lead down to the basement, and there is a drain in the entrance threshold. The room was used for storage and has a window at each end. That which overlooks the ditch has seats and there are peacocks, the de Ros emblem, carved at the ends of the window arch, and date to when the castle was enlarged in the decades either side of 1300. The provision of the west window, with its seats, suggests that an accounting officer may have worked from here when auditing the goods as they came and went.

In the barrel-vaulted ceiling can be seen the impression left by hazel wicker shuttering used in the plaster ceiling; cuts in the ribs indicate where the wicker was held in place. In order to successfully plaster the ceiling, the plaster was inserted in and over the hazel which would have held it in place, but over the years the plaster has been eroded, leaving the impression of the hazel shuttering ‘fossilised’ in the ceiling.

The ground floor is entered through the original round-headed doorway of around 1200, above which is a sixteenth-century window, with an original lancet window above it, now blocked. In the north wall is a door that led to the staircase to the upper floors and to the west range, and there is an original fireplace with oven in the east wall, with further fireplaces above, while the west wall has a fourteenth-century four-light window. Briden⁵ postulates that originally there was a staircase in the southeast corner.

Visible from inside the tower are the remains of wooden joists for the Elizabethan flooring, and doorways to the latrines and to the mural staircase on the north side. The stairs (now inaccessible) provided access to the tower's floors and also linked the tower to the range beyond.

The doorways in the length of projecting masonry in the northwest wall were added because of the sixteenth-century rearrangement of the floor levels; earlier door openings, now blocked, are visible in the north wall. The Elizabethan fireplaces originally had carved roses and shields in the spandrels, but most have been weathered away.

The scaffolding erected in the 1980s allowed Briden to see that the early fourteenth-century windows were not glazed but shuttered, a surprising discovery considering the status of the building. This can be seen clearly in the ground-floor windows, where the west example still has metal bars in position, but no glazing channels. The re-fenestration of the tower in the Elizabethan period resulted in a series of two-, three- and four-light glazed windows.⁶ Apart from the changes in floor levels at this time, and the addition of an attic floor, the fourteenth-century windows on the first and second floors of the west wall were blocked externally and the embrasures used as flues for new fireplaces.

The tower was ideally placed to take in the landscape to the west and south-west, with the west or new deer park, as well as Le Haye or Le Haghe, a small inner enclosure approximately on the site of the existing walled garden. There are the remains of a fine staircase in the domestic block, on the ground floor, which leads down to a postern. This doorway presumably originally opened on to a small bridge, providing access to the parkland for the de Ros family, guests and household.

Conclusion

The work of Oliver Creighton and others⁷ have helped the subject of castle studies to move on from nineteenth- and twentieth-century militaristic emphasis. Creighton's invaluable and well-referenced study brought together landscape and garden history with architectural aspects of castles. The impressive west tower at Helmsley emphasises that accommodation and the landscape at medieval castles were no different from that aspired to in later generations, seen in the great eighteenth-century buildings and Capability Brown landscapes that so complemented each other.

Acknowledgements

In 2018 a Festschrift⁸ was presented to (now the late) Dr Derek Renn, author of *Norman Castles in Britain* (1968; 2nd ed., 1973) and of numerous guidebooks and major academic publications on castles. My contribution to a friend whom I had known since 1970 was on the two great towers of

Middleham and Helmsley castles which is reproduced here (without the section on Middleham) with minor changes.

When I commenced duties in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, just after Christmas 1969, I soon discovered in one of the bays in the main library numerous books on castles in Britain and beyond and realised that the study of castles was a respected academic subject. My appetite for visiting castles had already been whetted by frequent excursions to Corfe Castle when staying with grandparents at Sandbanks, as well as explorations of my main local castle in Shropshire, Whittington. Noticing Berkhamsted Castle from the train on the way to being interviewed in London, it was not long before I visited that castle, leading me to discover more about mottes.

The Society's then Librarian, the remarkable John Hopkins, quickly realised that I was using any spare time to read as many key books on castles as possible and he ensured that I was introduced to a Fellow of the Society who would make one or two trips each week in his lunch hour to use the library. That Fellow was Derek Renn, and we became friends from that time onwards, for it was Derek who steered me through the most appropriate books to read and who made me aware of current research.

I am grateful to Susan Harrison for access to relevant files in English Heritage's Helmsley Store, and also Jackie Chadwick who produced the ground-floor plan of the west tower for the 2018 paper.

Notes

¹ J. R. Kenyon (2017), *Helmsley Castle*. London: English Heritage.

² M. Wood (1965), *The English Mediaeval House*. London: Phoenix House and numerous later impressions.

³ J. Blair, 'Hall and Chamber: English Domestic Planning 1000–1250' in G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones (Eds), *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France* (1993). London: Society of Antiquaries of London, pp. 1–21.

⁴ During the winter of 1985/86 the west tower was scaffolded, and Colin Briden undertook a survey of the external fabric. I have made use of this report, thanks to Susan Harrison, curator of English Heritage's Helmsley Store (reference Helmsley Castle, 1.02/209). However, Briden's report deserves full publication, so I have kept my use of it to a minimum in this article.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ According to Briden, two lights in the southerly of the two first-floor windows on the west side did not have glazing channels for some unknown reason.

⁷ O. H. Creighton (2009), *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. See also R. Liddiard (Ed.) (2007), *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press and S. A. Milesen (2009), *Parks in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 89–91, 93. Nor should we forget the feature by P. Everson and P. Barnwell in J. Clark (2004), *Helmsley Castle, North Yorkshire*. London: English Heritage, pp. 24–25. The parks are, of course, featured in the current guidebook (p. 14).

⁸ See Neil Guy (Ed.) (2018), *Castles: History, Archaeology, Landscape, Architecture and Symbolism. Essays in Honour of Derek Renn*. Castle Studies Group, pp. 140–54.

Mark Sissons' presentation on the industry of the Whitby and Pickering Railway

On 21 November 2015, Mark Sissons, Archivist at the North York Moors Railway, treated members of the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society to a fascinating talk on the industry supported by the old Whitby and Pickering Railway (WPR). Those of us present remember being astonished at learning just how heavily industrialised the area between Pickering and Whitby was in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, and how the railway facilitated the establishment and growth of industry along the Pickering—Grosmont—Whitby line. So impressed was I as editor of the *Ryedale Historian* by Mark's superb presentation that I asked him to consider converting it into an article for the journal. He agreed, but shortly thereafter became seriously ill and sadly died in 2018.

Although his family and colleagues at the North York Moors Railway Archive were able to locate Mark's PowerPoint slides of the presentation, unfortunately they were unable to discover any trace of presentation notes. One can surmise that Mark was so polished and learned a speaker that he did not need such notes. It has therefore not been possible to duplicate his presentation exactly nor to publish what would have been his article for this journal. Fortunately, his colleagues at the NYMR, particularly David Torbet of the Signalling and Telecoms Team; and Steve Davison and Linda Truchan of the Archive Team have helped me put together this article by providing notes to each slide and answering my many queries. Their assistance has been invaluable, as have the resources of the NYMR Archive. Mark's widow, Hilda Sissons, has greatly facilitated the publication of this article. I have had the unenviable task of cutting down over 70 slides to those which we could reproduce here; I particularly regretted discarding the Google Earth photos but their colour photography could not be reproduced to a sufficient standard in black and white.

Mark drew upon three sources of evidence to paint a picture of the industry along the WPR: old deeds and other legal documents (often accompanied by carefully drawn plans); old photographs of the line and its industries; and contemporary photographs and internet resources such as Google Earth showing archaeological traces of those old industries. Legal documents and accompanying plans often involved arrangements for sidings to be constructed to meet a particular industry's needs to bring in equipment and raw materials and send out finished products. Judging by the sheer number of sidings documented by Mark and his colleagues, the WPR line area was indeed very heavily industrialised. There are, fortunately for the Society's members, archaeological remains of the sidings and former industries. As this article was first being compiled before the first Covid lockdown, North York Moors National Park archaeologists and volunteers were excavating the remains of the Beck Hole Ironworks mentioned in Mark's presentation (see p. 30).

Because the economy of twenty-first century Ryedale is largely dependent on farming, tourism and leisure activities such as horse-riding and shooting, it is hard to imagine how very industrialised the North York Moors' landscape was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A very cursory tally of the industries close to, and made possible by, the Pickering to Whitby line includes the following: brick and tile works, gas works, bone mills, tanneries, limestone quarries and kilns, warehousing, whinstone, slag, ironstone, blast furnaces, sand, timber,

foundries for metal casings – industries which were crucial to the growth of Great Britain as an industrial nation. A few statistics illustrate the density of the industrialization of the area around the railway line: in 1926, 41,000 tons of limestone were shipped from Pickering; 7000 tons of whinstone (used in the building of roads) from Goathland; and 83,000 tons of slag from Grosmont, where 10 wagons each holding 10 tons left daily.¹

The text and photos below follow the course of Mark's presentation and move from just south of Pickering to Grosmont and end at Whitby.

*Farrell Burnett
Editor*

Pickering and environs

Mark began his tour of industries with those clustered around the railway in the market town of Pickering.

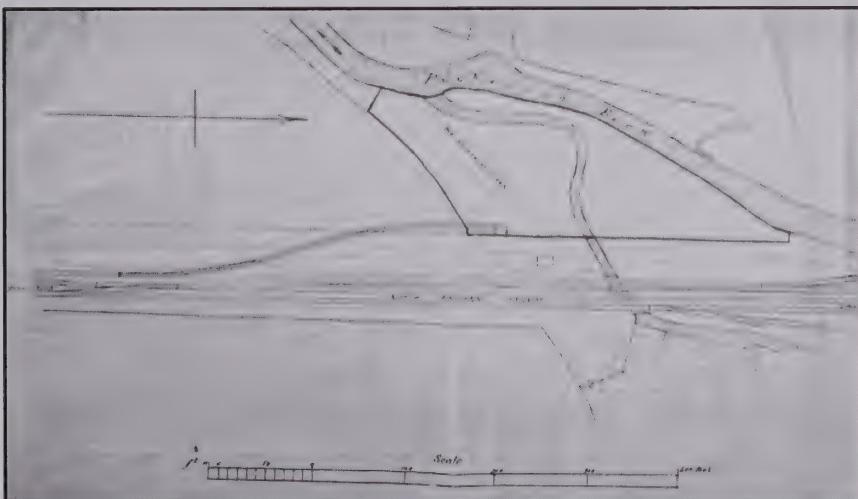




Aerial view of Pickering ,
looking North . The station is
upper centre, North-South

The white line in the centre indicates the route of the railway in this aerial photograph of Pickering taken in about 1970, looking towards the north. Moving from the bottom right to the top, one can see the gas works, coal drops (where Lidl is now located) and a goods warehouse to the left of the black line. Further up is the Station (situated centre left) and High Mill with level crossing gates. Pickering Castle is top centre. The main goods yard was south of the station between Bridge Street and Hungate (where the Ropery and car park are today).

Credit: NYMR Archives



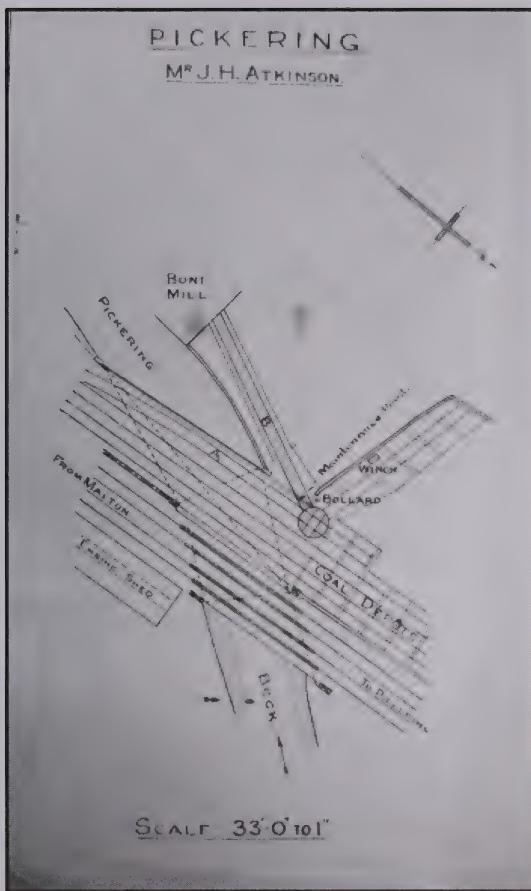
Credit: NYMR Archives

A legal agreement between the North Eastern Railway and Pickering Gas and Water Company Ltd, dated 6 December 1876, included a plan with a drawing (shown above) of the siding for the new gas works. The works burnt coal in the absence of oxygen to release gases; these were cleaned to produce gas which was supplied to the railway and then later to the town, mainly for lighting. At the bottom, off the plan, was a tannery, the stream for which has now been filled in.



Credit: NYMR Archives

This photograph, taken sometime after 1923, shows an LNER (London and North Eastern Railway) Sentinel steam locomotive shunting wagons between Mill Lane (south of the A170) and Hungate level crossings. Mill Lane signal box can be seen in the distance beyond the wagons. The new gas retort house with chimney, which opened in about 1876, is on the right.



Credit: NYMR Archives

The drawing on the left from 1940 shows the existing sidings above the coal and lime drops, into which the content of wagons fell into the coal and lime cells, and a proposed siding with a turntable to the Bone Mill. The engine shed is now being used by Taylor's Joinery; Lidl is now located in what was the coal yard, where the stationmaster's house was. Mr J.H. Atkinson would have been the businessman renting the siding.



Credit: NYMR Archives

This plan, attached to a December 1892 agreement between a Mr Baker (who was the warehouse tenant) and North Eastern Railway, shows the warehouse with a weighbridge shown just to its right, as all goods were charged by weight. The shaded building directly above it was the old retort house for the original gas works. Hungate runs top to bottom, Train Lane to the right, and the building on the crossroads next to the coal drops (now demolished) was the stationmaster's house.



This photograph, taken in the early 1970s, shows the first gas retort house (in which gas was extracted from burning coal) on the Ropery which provided Pickering with its first gas supply. It was built in 1876. The gasholders were located where the library is now. It was converted in 1892 into a granary and then later used as a café. More recently, it was used as a tyre shop (as seen in the photo) and then a hairdresser, its current occupier.

Credit: NYMR Archives



Credit: NYMR Archives

No. 7

A fleet of delivery wagons, indicating the wide variety of goods handled, waits outside the main railway warehouse in Pickering in the photo above taken in about 1935. The retort house may be

glimpsed in the left background. Horses were also used to deliver goods, as the heap of dung in the foreground attests!



Credit: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2019 all rights reserved. This map may not be reproduced without permission. 369008370. OS County Series Yorkshire 1892 1:2,500.

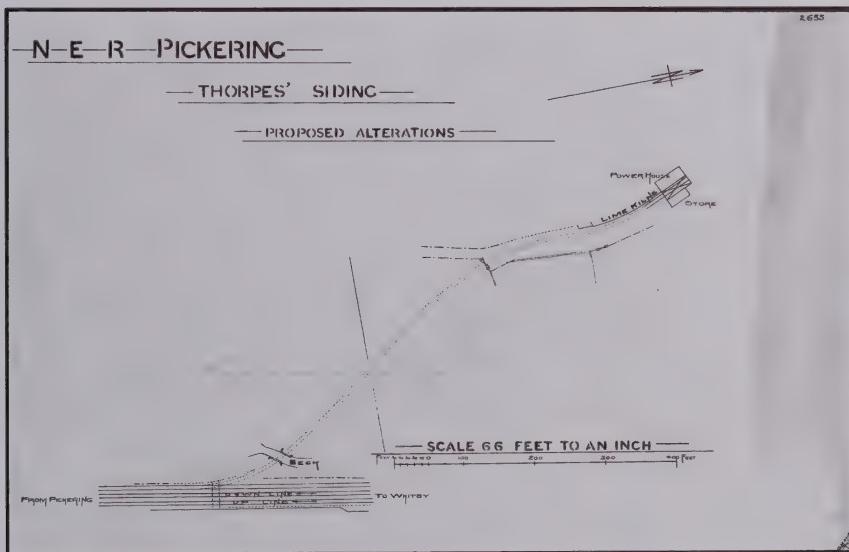
The private siding leading to High Mill on Mount Terrace, since converted into a road, is shown (centre left) on this 1892 OS map. The railway, lime kiln and quarry appear on the 1892 Ordnance Survey map but not on the 1854 version. The Northern Ryedale Leisure Centre now occupies the Mount Terrace site.

Limestone quarries, lime kilns and the lime product are intimately connected with the industrial revolution in Great Britain. As well as being used in building (plaster, mortar, concrete, lime wash), it was heavily used in agriculture (top dressing, disease prevention, dew ponds, preservative) until the mid-twentieth century. It was also used in dyeing, tanning, bleaching, papermaking, textile production and glass making. Today, the steel industry is its heaviest user.²



Credit: NYMR Archives

Looking southwards, one can see the High Mill level crossing in Pickering at the centre of this photograph, taken in about 1970. The lane to Mount Terrace, bottom right, was originally built as a siding to the lime works. Note the lack of carriage sheds and car parks above the level crossing.



Credit: NYMR Archives

The drawing above indicates proposed alterations to Thorpes' Siding which terminated near Rock Cottage. The siding served the Pickering Limestone Company and the Pickering Lime Works (owned by J. Dobson). Opened before 1874, it had its own signal box until 1898. It was abandoned before the Second World War. The railway gate is still extant as are the abutments of the bridge which crossed the beck.



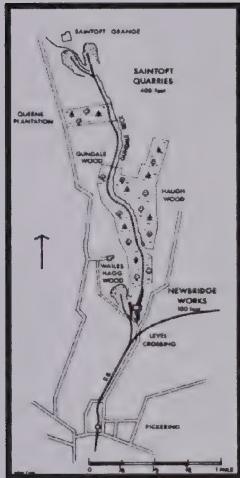
Credit: NYMR Archives

The rail link to the sand and lime quarries was opened in 1864 by the New Bridge Lime Company. Proposals to change the layout of the sidings are indicated on the drawing above. There was also a narrow-gauge track, opened in 1919 and running 2.5 miles to the Saintoft sand quarries further north, which was also used for loading timber. The rail access to the quarry closed when the railway stopped running in 1966. On the extreme left of the drawing, note the lime kilns which appear in the photo below.



Credit: Sydney Smith Collection, the Beck Isle Museum Trust and Mrs Barbara Sokel

The cottages at Newbridge are on the left of this photo taken in about 1900. Lime kilns, the level crossing and the river bridge are also visible. The railway track to the quarry is top right; above it is the road to Newton-on-Rawcliffe. Note the trees along the road which were planted to celebrate the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897. The kilns were in disuse by 1928.



Credit: NYMR Archives



Credit: NYMR Archives

The two photographs above show, on the left, the wagons on the narrow-gauge siding carrying sand from Saintoft sand quarries, and (on the right) the siding itself. Some remains of the narrow-gauge railway still exist in Haugh Wood. Opened in 1919 by the Pickering Sand Company, it closed in 1961.

Pickering to Grosmont

The Park Lane lime works, north of Newbridge, are visible in the background in the photo below taken sometime in the early twentieth century. Little physical evidence of the lime works remains today. Note the smoke coming from the top of the kiln.



Credit: NYMR Archives



Credit: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2019 all rights reserved. This map may not be reproduced without permission. 369008370. OS County Series Yorkshire 1892 1:2,500.

It is thought that the first connection (in 1865) to the standard-gauge sidings for Park Lane (marked tramway in the map above from 1892) would have been approximately in the centre of the map (not shown here). It was then moved south in 1875 to save building a signal box and employing staff for it. The sidings in the Park Lane lime works were narrow gauge and served both the lime kilns and the overhead chute for loading railway wagons. This site was closed around 1915; it is believed it was then in-filled with rubbish in the 1970s, thus becoming a civic amenity site.



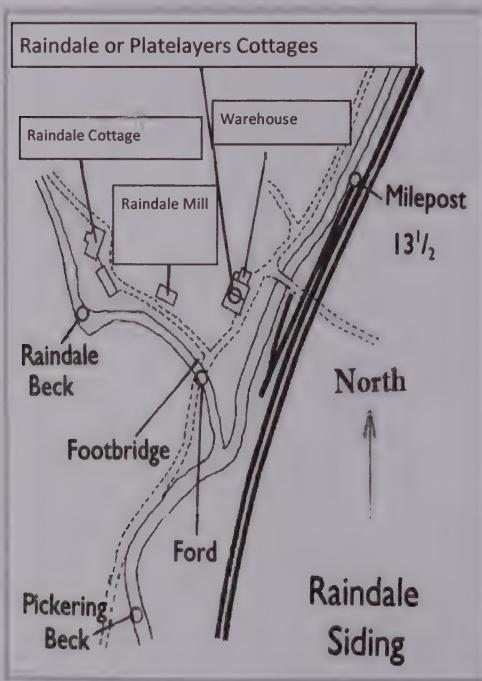
Credit: NYMR Archive and Mercer Photo

The signal box sits in the centre of this photograph at Farwath, in use from 1876 to 1916; it was later changed to a gate box in use from 1917 to probably about 1926. Originally a double track, the second track was lifted for the war effort in 1914 and was never restored. It controlled access to the siding and quarry there. The pair of cottages on the right, built in 1846 before the signal box, was designed by G.T. Andrews in 1846. Farwath means ‘far ford’ in Pickering parish.



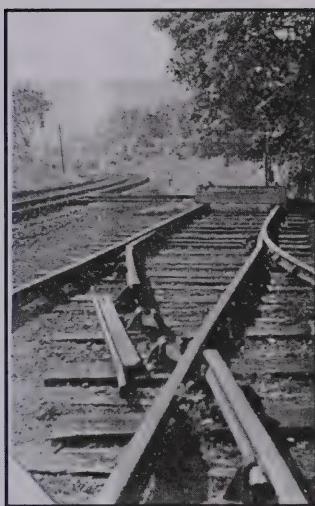
A recent photograph shows the remains of the rail bridge to the quarry at Farwath.

Credit: Mark Sissons



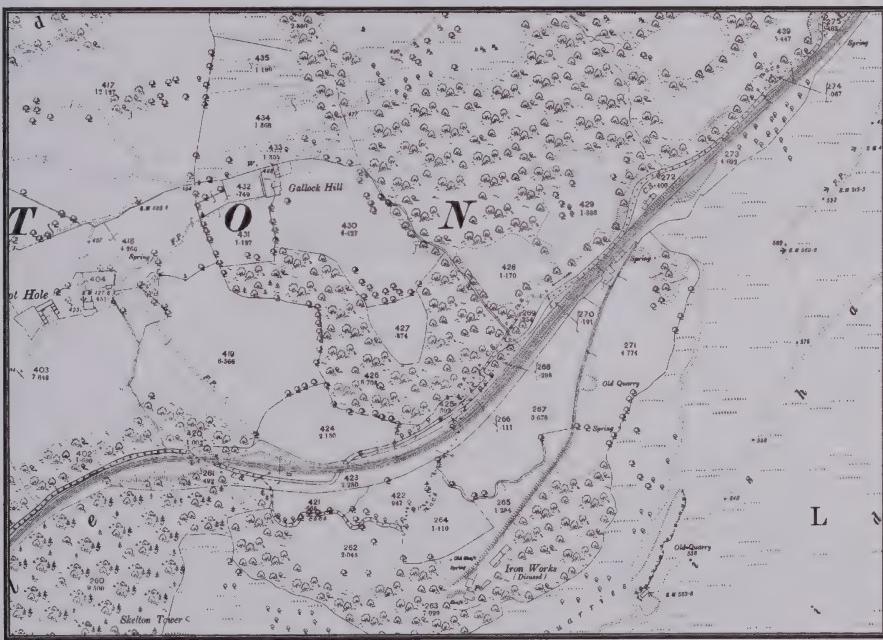
Credit: Drawing by Mark Sissons

The siding at Raindale Mill was used to load wood.



This photo, probably taken in the early twentieth century, focuses on the very basic point work – a ‘jumper’ rail as shown above – which allowed the crane at Raindale Mill to gain access to the spur. The siding was opened by about 1898 and did not close until after 1956.

Credit: C. M. Doncaster/NRM



Credit: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2019 all rights reserved. This map may not be reproduced without permission. 369008370. OS County Series Yorkshire 1892 1:2,500.

This 1892 OS map (above) displays an area of stone quarrying and attempted ironstone mining in Newton Dale and Levisham Moor. On the far right of the map a narrow-gauge incline and siding was used to lower stone from the quarries above it. Some of the stone from the quarries was used in Whitby harbour and Somerset House in London. The siding was rented by John Wadding. The incline line and siding had closed by 1857. A Mr Walker believed a good supply of ironstone lay just below ground level, and he sunk a shaft in an attempt to work it. A steam-powered winding house with chimney was built at the pit head. The shaft was sunk in excess of 200 feet looking for ironstone, but none was found. A siding was laid from the main line to the pit by 1858 (showing as Iron Works Disused on the map). It closed in about 1898. The track formation is still visible.



Credit: NYMR Archives

The remains of Mr Walker's pit are marked by the chimney (centre left of photo), with Skelton Tower at the top of the hill on the right. In the foreground are the ruined remains of the Pit Farm, to the left of the pit chimney. The ironstone quarry was above the chimney, and the stone quarry was above it.



Credit: NYMR Archive

The Newton Dale signal box – now demolished – which opened on 14 August 1876.



Credit: NYMR Archives

Transporting stone used in road building was a major function of the railway line. The North Riding County Council siding at Fen Bog at Goathland opened in 1926 and closed in 1960. Its primary purpose was for the delivery of road stone. Note Fen Bog 'gangers' cottages alongside the Lyke Wake Walk pathway crossing on the plan above.



Credit: NYMR Archives

A train heads south in the photo above of the Fen Bog area, taken probably in the 1920s or 1930s. Note the wagons in the siding referred to on the plan above. The buffer stop is at the end of the summit siding which allowed splitting and combining heavy freight trains. Because of the steep hill, heavy trains were split in half at the bottom of the hill and recombined at the top.



Credit: G W J Potter/John Minnis Collection. Photograph reproduced from *Goathland Station: A Brief History* by the Levisham Station Group.

In a photo (above) of Goathland Station taken prior to 1908, the whinstone crushing plant and the chute for loading the crushed stone directly onto wagons is on the right. At the top of the picture a wagon on the narrow-gauge line from the whinstone quarry can be seen. Next to the stone crusher is a wagon which has fallen down the bank. Note that Railway Bridge No. 27 is only two tracks wide. The rail wagons were weighed on a table behind the platform on the right; the weigh office is behind the telegraph pole.



Credit: Locomotive & General Railway photographs. Photograph reproduced from *North York Moors Railway: Pictorial Survey* by Peter Williams and David Joy.

The new weighbridge, expanded whinstone crushing works and Bridge No. 27 with three tracks are all visible in the photo above taken in post-1908 Goathland.



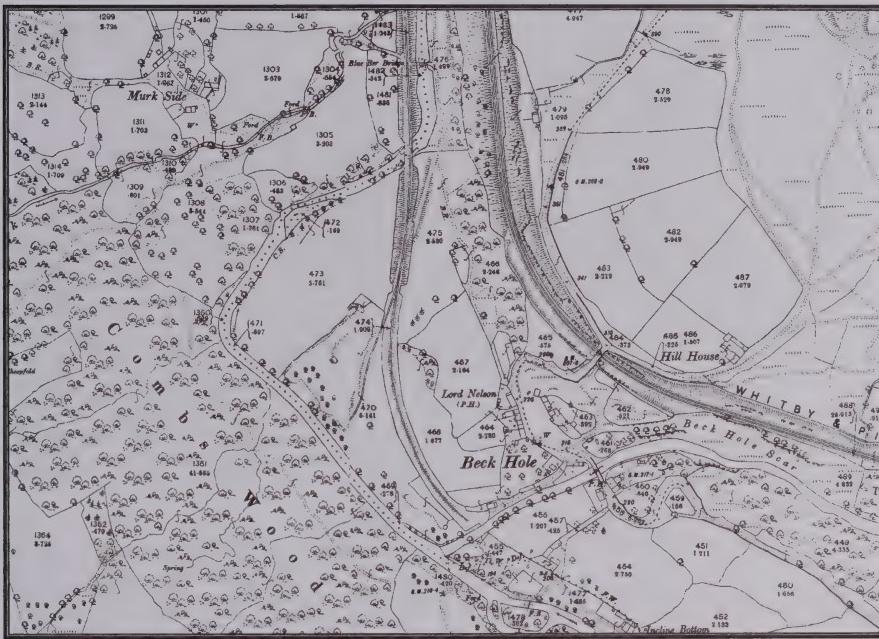
Credit: Mark Sissons

A recent photo seen above shows the remains of the water-powered Pelton Wheel used to drive the stone crusher at Goathland. Water came from a reservoir on the moor above it.



Credit: Mark Sissons

Above, site of the Dowson Garth and Murkside Iron Mines near Beck Hole which were worked in 1860. Ironstone was brought down from a quarry by narrow-gauge railway to a calcining (burning) site beside the original line. Remains of calcined ironstone and the loading dock are still visible.



Credit: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2019 all rights reserved. This map may not be reproduced without permission. 369008370. OS County Series Yorkshire 1893-94 1:2,500.

This 1893-94 map shows the location of the Beck Hole Iron works. Two blast furnaces were erected here in 1860 by the Whitby Iron Company, but went out of use soon after following a crack in the working furnace. Ironstone was obtained from the wood south of the line.



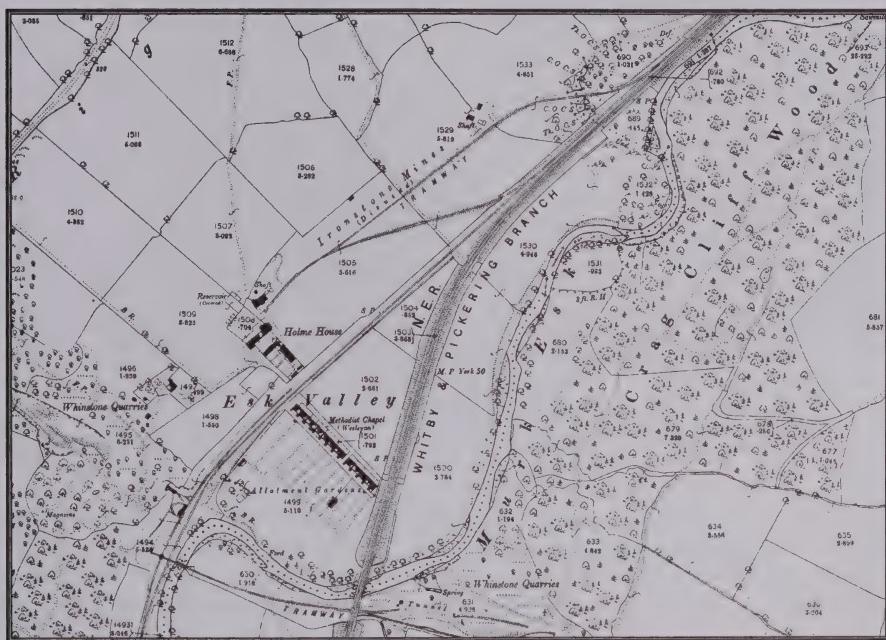
Credit: © Copyright North York Moors National Park Authority

As part of the Land of Iron scheme, North York Moors National Park archaeologists and volunteers have been excavating the remains of the Beck Hole Ironworks at Combes Wood and elsewhere.³ The photo shows the Combs Wood Beck Hole community archaeological excavation in May 2017.⁴



Credit: Mark Sissons

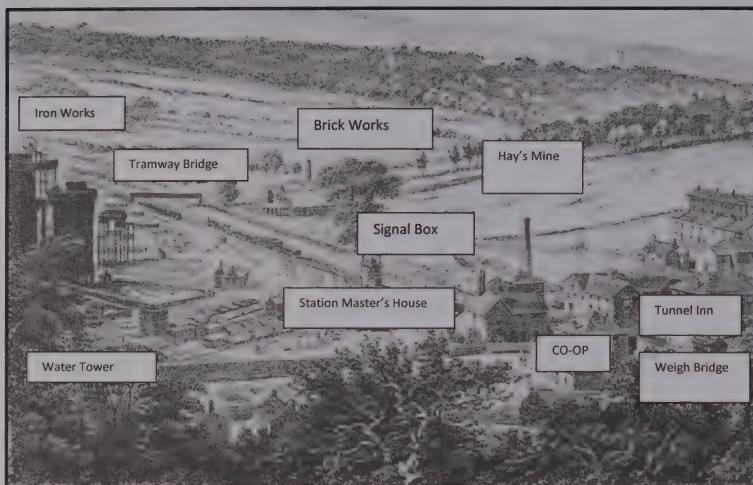
Looking towards Grosmont, the Esk Valley Cottages are visible on the centre-right in the photo above. The solid black line marks the location of the siding serving the Esk Valley Mine (which was located in the trees behind the electricity pole). The Esk Valley Mine worked sporadically from 1859 to 1877. Ironstone was mined from the thin Pecten and Avicula seams lying at a depth of about 60 metres. The dotted line to the left of the solid line shows a siding installed when a second shaft was later sunk as required by law after the Hartley disaster of 1862.⁵



Credit: © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2019 all rights reserved. This map may not be reproduced without permission. 369008370. OS County Series Yorkshire 1893-94 1:2,500.

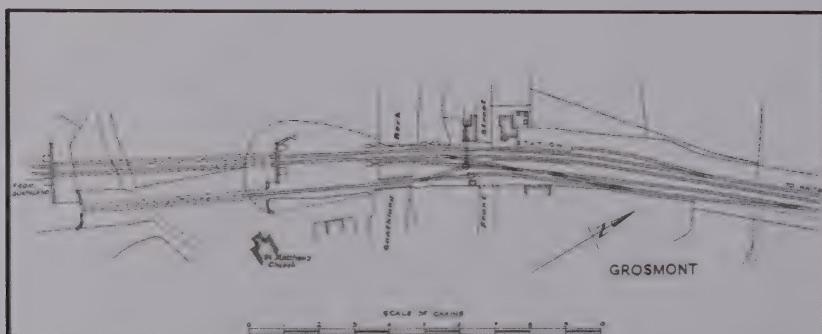
Three Esk Valley ironstone mine sidings appear to the left of the railway line on this 1893-94 map. The original 1836 Whitby and Pickering line ran past Holme House. The diversion route opened in 1865 is marked NER Whitby and Pickering Branch. The Esk Valley had two shafts, one near Holme House and the other near the northeast bend of the siding. There was also a brick powder store halfway between the two shafts. There was no road to the Esk Valley Cottages until 1951 when the original line closed. The cottages were supplied almost entirely by rail.

Grosmont to Whitby



Credit: Reproduced from *Grosmont and its Mines* (Cleveland Ironstone Series) by Simon Chapman with labels added by Mark Sissons and HAHS.

A drawing of Grosmont in about 1874 displays the scale of its industrialization. The drawing is a stone lithograph presumed to be by Canon Atkinson, based on a photograph by H. C. Taphouse taken in about 1872. The WPR ran from top left to bottom right. The Battersby line ran off the page at the bottom left. Iron works blast furnaces (on the left) were operating from 1862 to 1891. On the bottom right is the village of Grosmont. The tall chimney by the station marks Hay's mine shaft. The tramway bridge over the railway brought ironstone from mines to furnaces. At the right end of this bridge a brick works was established. The Tunnel Inn on the right has a small building in front; this was a weighbridge.



Credit: NYMR Archive

The drawing above of the railway lines at Grosmont demonstrates how very complex the trackwork was. Note the tunnels to the left. The weighbridge is next to Front Street; there was also a wagon turntable so wagons could be pushed through the Co-op.



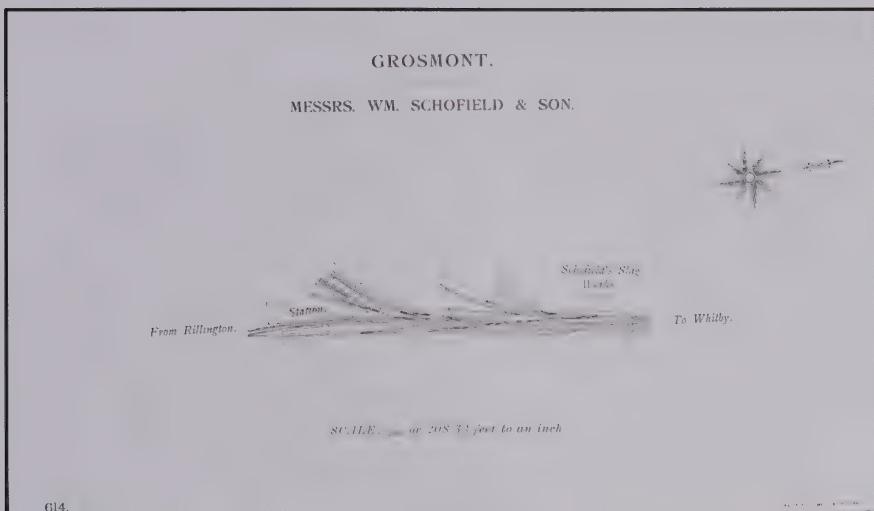
Credit: NYMR Archive

Grosmont is famous for having the oldest independent Co-op in the world. The wagon access to the Co-op was later turned into a window as shown in this photo. The gatekeeper's hut is just visible to the centre left. The level crossing gates were worked by hand; the signal box is in the background.



Credit: Image by permission of Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society

The photo above was taken by Frank Sutcliffe in about 1880 after the third blast furnace was added. The Grosmont Iron Works opened in 1862 and closed in 1891. At its peak, it was said to be employing over 500 workers. The chimney was demolished in 1957. In March 1902, the area of slag heaps bought by William Oliphant was leased to William Schofield, who commenced extraction of the slag, crushing and grading it for use as road stone; similar reprocessing of the slag heap on the north side of the Esk began in about 1906. Rounthwaite⁶ estimated the combined volume of the two areas of slag tipping to be over one million tons and, in order to aid extraction, two new standard gauge lines were laid down across the site.



Credit: NYMR Archives

A drawing showing the new loading dock for Schofield's slag works in Grosmont, attached to an agreement dated 1903 and modified in 1912. The dock closed on 15 November 1951. It took just short of 50 years to clear the site of slag.



Credit: NYMR Archives

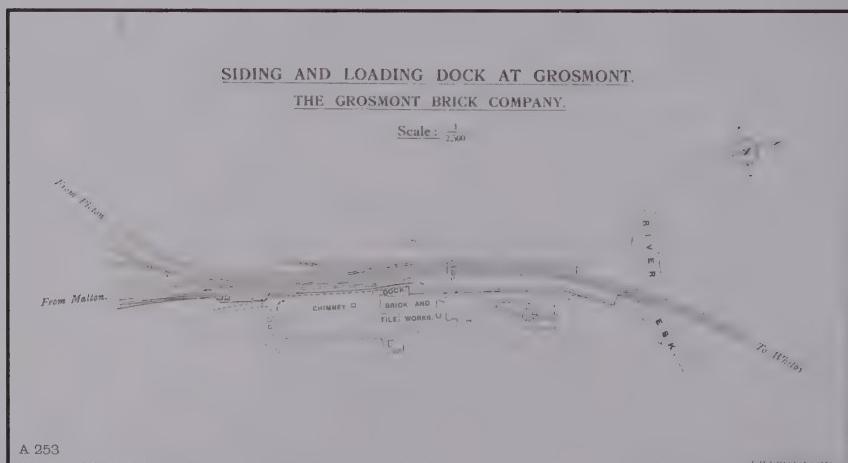
In 1913 in Grosmont, Gladstone and Company and Wm Schofield and Son are listed as slag merchants. George Hodzman took over and in 1925 an agreement, to which the drawing above

was attached, signed. The iron works closed in 1891. On the left of the above plan a railway line is shown going to Picton, near Yarm, via Battersby Junction.



Credit: NYMR Archives

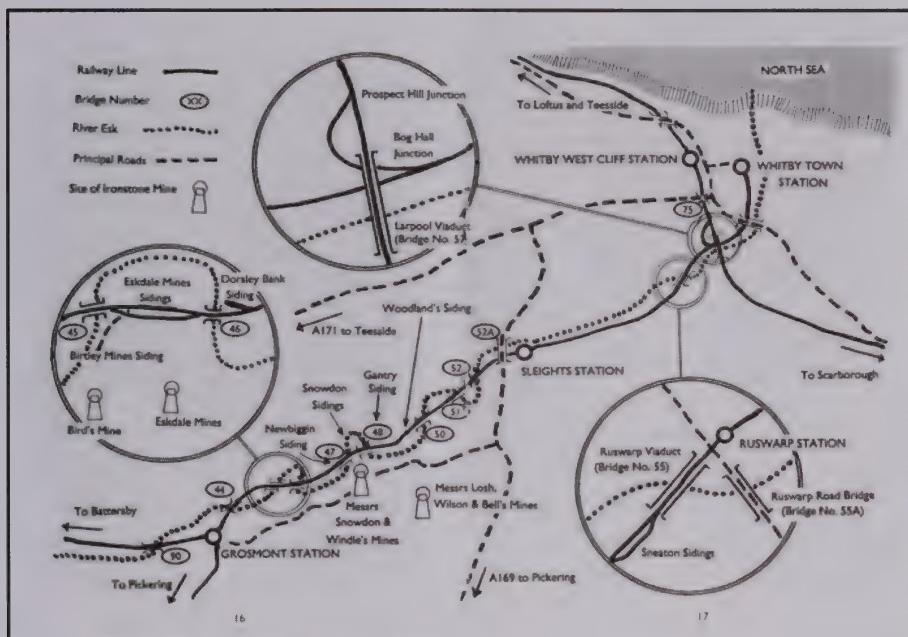
The chimney and rail weighbridge of the brick and tile works which operated between 1870 and 1957 in Grosmont.



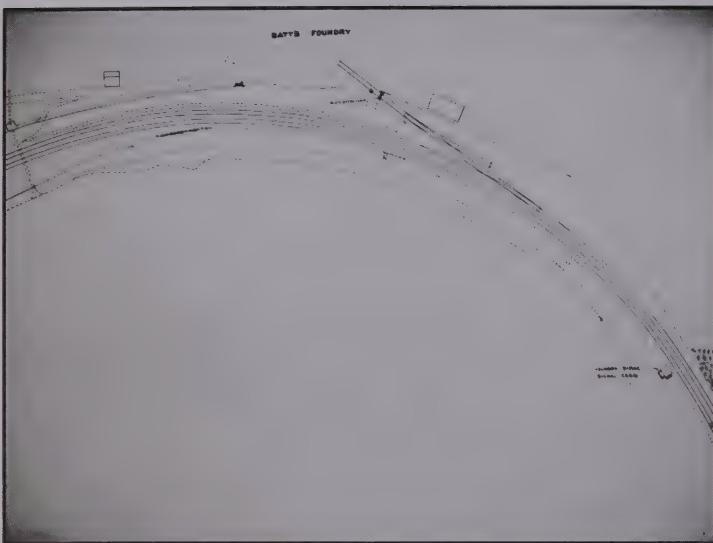
Credit: NYMR Archives

The above drawing depicts the loading dock for the brick and tile works, according to a siding agreement dated 12 December 1921 with the Grosmont Brick Company, which then passed to the Eldon Brick Works company in 1947. The sidings facilities stopped operating on 31 October 1964.

The brickworks on the east side of the railway in the drawing above were expanded in the early twentieth century, including the addition in 1902 of a new 120-foot chimney. In 1923, a large annular Hoffman Kiln was built. The works did not cease production until 1957. Just north of Grosmont were the sidings for the Eskdale Mines. Ironstone was mined here from 1847 for many years. After a hiatus, the mines re-opened in 1908 and finally closed in 1915. The signal box was demolished in 1995 and its materials used to build the present Grosmont Crossing Box.



The complexity of the sidings and connections between Grosmont and Whitby is demonstrated in this diagram.⁷



Credit: NYMR Archives

In 1834 the railway diverted the Esk River, which is navigable to Ruswarp, to save building two swing bridges. Batts Mill lost its water supply, so a steam engine was built to power the mill. The drawing above from 1853 shows the steam-powered mill. The mill closed and converted to Batts Foundry in 1858 and was owned by Robert Hutton Sr until 1899. His sons James and Robert took over until 1911. The foundry produced domestic, agricultural and commercial wares.



Credit: Image by permission of Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society

The River Esk and Whitby Gas Works appear in the photo above, before the Larpool Viaduct was built. A siding brought coal to be converted into gas. Batts Foundry can be seen in the centre background. Note the earthworks for the new line to Whitby West Cliff Station and Teesside.



The building of the Larpool viaduct across the Esk was a major engineering project. Look for the man at the top of the pole and the sighting tower.

Credit: Image by permission of Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society



Credit: Image by permission of Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society

The photo above shows the Esk River on its journey to the sea, with the Abbey visible on the hill on the upper right. The white building in the left foreground is the original WPR weigh house. Whitehall shipyard is on the right.



Credit: NYMR Archives

Four platforms, cranes, timber merchants, weigh office and dock, since partly filled in, are all visible on this drawing of Whitby Town Station.

Acknowledgements

Every effort has been made to identify and credit correctly the copyright holders of illustrations reproduced in this article; any queries should be addressed to the Editor of the *Ryedale Historian* at www.helmsleyarchaeologicalandhistoricalociety.org.uk.

Notes

¹ North Yorkshire Moors Railway (2013), *Goods on the Whitby to Pickering Line*. Pickering: Levisham Station Group Publication, p. 13.

² David Johnson (2018), *Lime Kilns: History and Heritage*. Stroud: Amberley, pp. 14-16. I am also indebted to the research by Brian Ambler on lime kilns for the Sinnington Local History Group.

³ From *Moors Messenger* (May 2019), p. 2.

⁴ The project has also used photogrammetry to record and remodel digitally the stables (<https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/combs-wood-stables-3e85572619bf4302ba4cec6a3263c5c0>) and a possible forge (<https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/combs-wood-forge-b64d71e371ec47bcb52086404384cc43>).

⁵ For further information see the *Cleveland Industrial Archaeologist* No. 07 (1977).

⁶ T.E. Rounthwaite (1962, 1997), *Ironstone Mines and Railways of Cleveland and Rosedale*. Cleveland Ironstone Series. Guisborough: P. Tuffs (reprint of articles originally published between 1957 and 1962).

⁷ First published in Levisham Station Group (2011), *Whitby to Grosmont: A Brief History* (first edition), pp. 16-17. Pickering: North Yorkshire Moors Railway.

The Place-Name Andrew

Madge Allison

Introduction

My recent research on the origin of place-names in Ryedale has focused on the survival of ancient British words to describe features in the landscape, for example the word ‘cat’ which appears in the names of ancient woodlands on steep slopes.¹ In this article I continue to investigate the possibility of the survival of ancient Celtic words to describe topographical features, in this case ‘Andrew’ or variants of it, in place-names, a topic which attracted the attention of place-name experts as long ago as 1930 when Frank Elgee suggested that the North York Moors was an area in which Celtic place-names were likely to have survived.

I first became interested in Andrew as a place-name when I encountered it in several nearby locations, where it appeared in association with various topographical features such as Andrew Hagg (woodland), Andrew Hill, Andrew Howe (tumulus) and Anderdale. Both the surname Andrew and the personal name Andrew are common in our area – but why did other even more common surnames such as Williamson, Johnson or Smith also not appear in field place-names? It is also possible that the name was perhaps referring to St. Andrew. I think that this is less likely because saint’s names in our area were not mainstream ones such as Peter, Paul, George, etc. They tended to be local ones, such as the names given to the wells at Lastingham called Cedd, Chad and Ovin or the well at Gillings called Wilfrid. My interest piqued when I found it attached to three burial mounds on Hutton Mulgrave/Egton Low Moor; tumuli are not usually named after people. Another oddity was that the old open fields were not named after people, yet there was the old open field of Anderdale in Lastingham. I became more intrigued when I learned that leading place-name scholars did not agree as to the meaning of ‘ander’.² I will return to this later.

In this article I explore other possible meanings for the word Andrew or its variants in our landscape and hope to make the case for Andrew as an example of the rare survival of a British word in our place-names. Alas, my conclusions are built on informed speculation because of the scarcity of early sources and lack of hard evidence, unlike a piece of pottery or a coin which can bring a firm resolution to an archaeological inquiry.

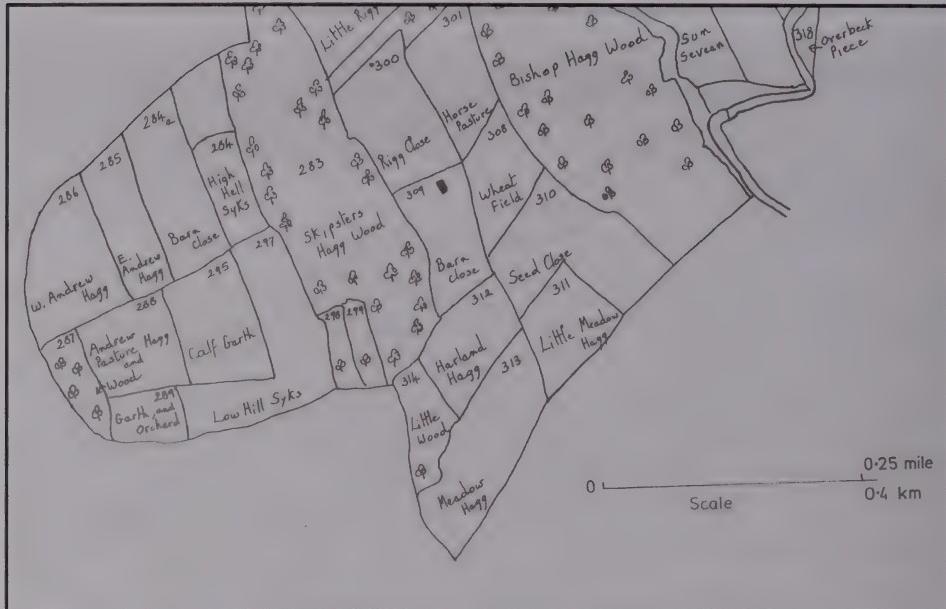
I begin by looking at the use of Andrew names in the local Ryedale area and gradually move further afield (albeit mostly in Yorkshire) where some interesting examples of the name occur. Finally, I examine the views and evidence provided by leading place-name scholars on variants of Andrew used in topographical place-names.

Andrew names in our area

Andrew Hagg

Andrew Hagg is the name of four closes, or fields, at Skipsters Hagg Farm, Appleton-le Moors. These closes are first mentioned in the 1849 Appleton Tithe Award. They are Tithe Award nos.

285-8 and amount to 15 acres (see Map 1).³ The terms closes, field closes and fields are today interchangeable. In the medieval period, 'field' referred to the large open field farmed communally by the village. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these open fields were being enclosed and subdivided into smaller units known as closes or field closes. Eventually, the word 'field' became used universally. 'Hagg' means woodland managed for fuel.



Map 1: Skipsters Hagg. © 2003 Jonathan Allison

Although an extended discussion of the historical background of this farm may at first not seem very relevant to the subject, I would ask the reader's patience. Most early farms in our area were once part of a medieval village community, but Skipsters Hagg Farm was not. Its history is that of a separate entity, and the field closes of Andrew Hagg are a part of that development. Tracing its unusual development is not always straightforward.

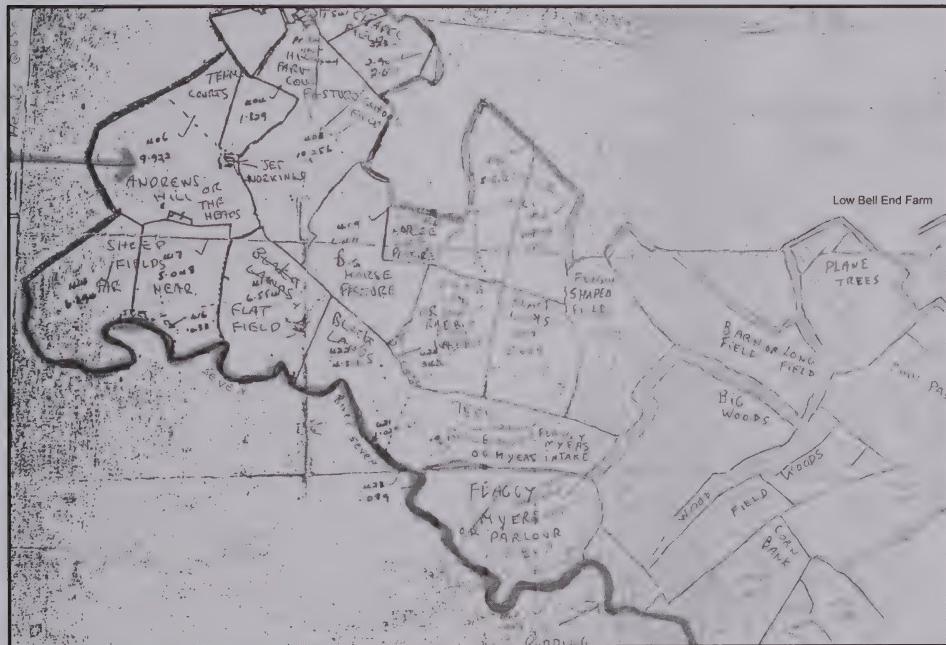
The first full description of Skipsters Hagg Farm itself only appears at the late date of 1849 in the Tithe Award mentioned above, when a farm of 173 acres with its 28 closes is listed. The medieval history of the area of Skipsters Hagg, combined with the adjoining area of Rigg Hagg, is of managed woodland belonging to the Lord of the Manor, St Mary's Abbey. After the Dissolution, a Wood Survey of 1552⁴ shows these woodlands to be in the hands of the king and thus their history is separate from the history of Appleton-le-Moors. The village itself was sold in a separate parcel to John Bonnell in 1566.

In the Tithe Award, most of the closes of Skipsters Hagg have simple descriptive names, such as Barn Close, Wheat Field, Plantation etc. Interestingly, the exceptions are the hagg (woodland) names. These are Bishop Hagg (25a), Andrew Hagg (15a), and Harland Hagg (4a), as well as

Skipsters Hagg Wood itself (15a). We do not know the origin of the names Bishop, Andrew or Harland, but all three could be surnames; Skipsters is derived from sheep, suggesting an early sheep station. Harland is a surname that occurs frequently in the Lastingham Parish Register, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a likely period for the naming of closes. We do not know exactly when the closes were named; certainly some names, such as Skipsters, will be ancient. Andrew is a surname recorded in the Sinnington Parish Register in the period 1600–1650, again in a likely period for the naming of closes, especially given that Sinnington families were involved in the Skipsters Hagg area at the time. It has to be a possibility that Harland and Andrew were local surnames of the owners of the closes. The name Bishop Hagg remains a mystery.

Andrews Hill

Andrews Hill is a field-name in Rosedale East (OS 705975). It is a very smooth, green, evenly domed hill. It appears on an undated estate map, probably nineteenth century, called Andrews Hill or the Heads and is 10 acres.⁵ The large, grassy, domed hill is a very distinct type of topographical feature and does not resemble any of the other examples of the Andrew place-name. The letter ‘s’ in Andrews may be the possessive ‘s’, suggesting it is a personal name (see Map 2).



Map 2: Andrews Hill, Rosedale East, based on nineteenth-century estate map in John RushtonArchive, Ryedale Folk Museum.

Andrew Howe

There are three Andrew Howes on Hutton Mulgrave/Egton Low Moor, all within one and a half miles of each other. They are Bronze Age burial mounds. Two of the burial mounds are identified on the First Edition OS map 1853 (surveyed 1849); the third is identified on R.H. Hayes' map as a personal comment (see Map 3).⁶ The area is now moorland with some modern forestry plantation. There were many nineteenth-century excavators in the Whitby area but none called Andrew. There is a Rev. James Andrew who is a subscriber to Young's *History of Whitby* (1817) but nothing further is known about him. He is not mentioned in the book nor does the book mention any Andrew Howes. Young points out how heavily wooded the region was at Domesday and he then goes on to quote from the Domesday record '... vast extent of the forests ... Whitby 7 miles by three ... Hutton Mulgrave 3 miles by one, Ugthorpe 2 miles, Egton 3 miles by two ...'.⁷



Map 3: Andrew Howes, Mulgrave Estate, Ordnance Survey First Edition, 1853.

Margaret Smith in her book *Excavated Bronze Age Burial Mounds of Northeast Yorkshire* describes several burial mounds excavated by a Mr Anderson in the Hutton Mulgrave, Newton Mulgrave and Aislaby area in c.1850.⁸ It seems unlikely that the coincidence of the name Anderson has anything to do with the three Andrew Howes for the following reasons. None of the OS map references for Mr Anderson's excavations tally with the OS references of the three Andrew Howes. The surveys for the first edition OS maps were being undertaken 1849–52 at the same time as Mr. Anderson was excavating. Would the Ordnance Survey name three burial mounds and a lane (see Map 3) after someone contemporary with their surveying and, in addition, get the name wrong? It seems more likely that the name of the three burial mounds and the lane, all called Andrew, would already have been established, and date from an earlier period.

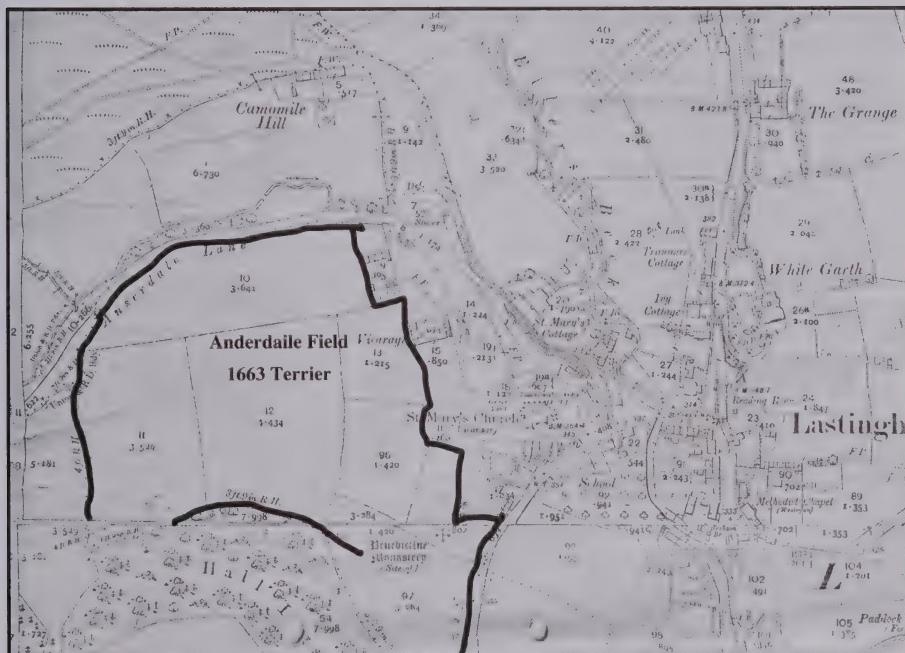
There were two enclosures.⁹ Neither of the two awards mentions the Andrew Howes, or indeed any of the many other tumuli, nor is there any encloser who was called Andrew. One of the enclosures is of the Hutton Mulgrave and surrounding area in 1782. The area of Andrew Howe No.1 is simply described as ‘Old Enclosures of Lord Mulgrave’. The second enclosure was of Egton Low Moor in 1854.

I have looked at other early sources for the area of these Andrew Howes, such as Bateman (1850s), Canon Greenwell (1873), Canon Atkinson (1891) and Elgee (1930, 1933), but found no reference to the three Andrew Howes.¹⁰

It is difficult to pin down when these three Bronze Age barrows were named Andrew except that it was before 1853, when the first OS map so named them. Early writers of the area do not refer to anyone called Andrew. Most burial mounds in the area are not named. The few that are named have descriptive names, such as Loose Howe, Flat Howe or Pen Howe. It is rare for a burial mound to carry a person’s name. Even one of the rare examples, Ann Howe, could have a similar meaning to the Ana Cross near Lastingham which means One Cross. It seems unlikely that the Andrew Howes and the Andrew Howe Lane were named after a person.

Anserdale Lane, Lastingham

The earliest record for this place-name is Anderdale, recorded in the 1663 Terrier for Lastingham, ‘Two acres of land lying in Anderdale field’.¹¹ A little more information is added in the 1685



Map 4: Anderdale Field per 1663 Terrier, Lastingham, OS map 1891-2.

Terrier, ‘... a garth called the Hemp Garth joining upon Anderdale field’ and ‘two acres in Anderdale field’.¹² Thus we learn that Anderdale field was one of Lastingham’s old open fields, of which the vicar’s glebe land was two acres (see Map 4). It will be noted in the following documents that there are various later spellings for the original name Anderdale. Even F.H. Weston in his excellent History of Lastingham already changes the 1685 Terrier spelling from Anderdale to Andersdale.¹³

At the 1787 Enclosure the vicar was awarded ‘... the open field of Anserdale, 15 acres’.¹⁴ The Tithe Award of 1841¹⁵ defines these 15 acres belonging to the vicar as:

T.A. No. 33	Andersdale Headlands	pasture	3acres	2rods	8perches
T.A. No. 34	East Andersdale	meadow	3.2.9		
T.A. No. 35	West Andersdale	meadow	4.1.20		
T.A. No. 38	Andersdale Tower	pasture	3.1.15		

It is interesting to note that at the time of the 1787 Enclosure the letter ‘s’ had been inserted into the place-name and that the original letter ‘d’ in the 1663 Terrier was dropped from the place-name. It was this “Anserdale” version that was then used on the first edition OS map of 1856 and by the place-name expert, A.H. Smith. We will return to this at the end of this section.

The old open field of Anderdale was a steeply sloping hill adjoining Hall Ings Wood on the Spaunton/Lastingham boundary. The adjacent terrain also rises steeply and adjoins the wooded area of Gally Wood and Hagg Wood. It is likely that the whole area on the Spaunton/Lastingham boundary was once an extensive woodland. The area then carried on as a fairly continuous woodland through to the Appleton woodlands of Tenterhill, the stunted wood pasture of Hamley¹⁶, Gill Wood, Hell Bank Wood and Howlgatehead Wood, and included the two Riddings (land reclaimed from woodland), through to Bishop Hagg Wood, and the large wooded pasture of Appleton Common. Along the River Seven the Appleton woodland would have adjoined the large wooded area of Cropton stunted pasture and Cropton Bank Wood, which then adjoined the Sinnington woodlands. All in all, it was an enormous wooded area.

Where did the name of the old open field of Anderdale come from? The ‘daile’¹⁷ probably refers to one’s dole or share in the field of Ander. Daile/dale was a common term in our area in the medieval period to refer to one’s allocation of arable strips in the open field. What does the word ‘ander’ mean? Open field names are old names, because they date from the period of communal farming in the Middle Ages or earlier.¹⁸ The charters in the Chartulary of St Mary’s Abbey show that most of the medieval field names in the Manor of Spaunton are topographical, that is, they describe features in the landscape. It is therefore highly likely that ‘ander’ is a topographical name. K. Jackson and F. Elgee have both proposed that there are probably British words that have survived in names describing the landscape, especially in remote areas, which we have still not recognised.¹⁹ I speculate in this article that ‘ander’ could be one of them.

Looking at the historical background to the area might be a useful first step in discovering what ‘ander’ meant. There is a strong case to be made that Spaunton and its surrounding area was occupied in Romano-British times. As evidence of this, there is the Romano-British building excavated in Spaunton in the 1960s, and reported in the *Ryedale Historian* in 1967.²⁰ In the 1890s a cyst burial of a Romano-British man was found, buried with grave goods, on the

Spaunton/Appleton border.²¹ Such a burial is likely to be of an important local figure. Sherds of Romano-British pottery have been found scattered over the local fields. The land of Spaunton is flat, fertile and well-drained and would always have been attractive arable land. It is highly likely that Spaunton was the hub of an active Romano-British community. The successor to this farming community would be what we see in the medieval period, when it was the Manor of Spaunton, i.e. the central manor for the surrounding area of Appleton, Lastingham, Hutton-le-Hole and Rosedale West.

A further strong indication of the existence of an important Romano-British community at Spaunton is the fact that Lastingham was chosen as the site for an early Anglo-Saxon monastery. Lastingham with its holy wells was probably always an important religious site. The early British worshipped at well sites and the fact that Lastingham had several would have made it especially significant. It may have been the religious centre for the Romano-British community, in the same way that it would later become the religious centre for the Manor of Spaunton. Although initially it would have been a pagan site, with the coming of Christianity, and especially during the period of Constantine in the early fourth century, Lastingham could have become a Christian place of worship. A highly likely suggestive indication of the presence of Christianity in the region is the mention of the Bishop Eborius of York attending a Council at Arles in 314 AD.²² The fact that there was a Bishop at York at this time shows how far Christianity had spread throughout the Roman Empire. It was now the official religion, dating from the time of Constantine's conversion in c 313 AD, and, as such, would attract a large following, especially given the fact that it was intolerant of other religions. It is highly likely that the Romano-British community at Spaunton was Christianised. What became of this Christian community as the Roman Empire waned? The tenacity of religion to survive and continue has been shown throughout history. There is an instance of this in our own area, where pockets of Catholicism persisted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in spite of harsh financial and punitive measures. In the same way in the late Romano-British period Christianity probably survived in some areas even if it had been cut off from Rome, and its people were left to find their own way. The inhabitants would have been without instruction and not aware of the new teachings and doctrines. It was a period when heresies were rife and the Church was contending with many alternative interpretations. Who knows what blasphemous beliefs and practices were being carried out by the now-isolated community? The state of their lapsed Christianity would have been viewed as an abomination by the Anglo-Saxon monks of Lindisfarne who chose to come to Lastingham. It had once been a holy place and for this reason had to be purified and made holy again. The strong language of the monks in so doing could be interpreted to mean that this was a holy place that had fallen into serious decay and needed to be reclaimed and returned to orthodoxy. There is a suggestion of this when Bede writes that Cedd wished 'to purify the site (of Lastingham) from the taint of earlier crimes.'²³

The above discussion makes the case that the Spaunton–Lastingham area might have been a significant place in the Romano-British period and that its importance continued into the Anglo-Saxon period. Could anything of its language have been left? It can only be speculation that the word 'ander' survived and that it is likely to have a topographical meaning. We do not know what feature it might be. A candidate has to be the very extensive area of continuous woodland described above, which it would have been a part of and reclaimed from. I will return to a fuller discussion of the word 'ander' in a later section.

However, a very different interpretation is given by A.H. Smith in his *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*.²⁴ Under Smith's entry for the place-name, Lastingham, he discusses the word Anserdale. It would seem that his discussion is based only on a later version of the word, which is Anserdale, with no reference to the earliest versions of the name, which is Anderdale.²⁵ It is critical in the discussion of place-names to consider their earliest spellings. Smith could not take into account the 1663 reference because it had not yet been discovered. As a result of considering only the later version, Smith likens this later version of the word, i.e. Anserdale, to the word Hansterdaile, which is a strip in an open field of Hildenley, a hamlet near Malton, and mentioned in a 1336 Charter Roll. He then goes on to refer to Dr Lindkvist, who '... suggests the first element may be ON [Old Norse] Omstr [amstr]: "heap" [of corn or dung].' This explanation is based on the later spelling of Anserdale and not on the earliest spelling of Anderdale in the 1663 and 1685 Terriers. I think that the loss of the 'd' and the introduction of the 's' has resulted in a misinterpretation. I also found it confusing that Smith entered the place-name 'Hansterdaile' 1336 Charter Roll as part of the Lastingham entry. It makes the entry read as though in 1336 there is a Hansterdaile in Lastingham, when in fact the reference is actually to a Hansterdaile in Hildenley.

Looking further afield

Villages called Enderby/Anderby

Villages called Enderby/Anderby may offer further clues as to the origin of the Andrew place-name. The name ender/ander is usually combined with the Danish 'by' which means a farmstead or village, hence Enderby. The usual interpretation is that the first element is the personal name 'Eindrid', meaning Eindrid's farm or vill. Margaret Gelling writes that, of the 300 'by' village names, 200 of them are combined with a personal name (from a study by K. Cameron).²⁶ However, Victor Watts counters that the Old Norse personal name Eindreth fn 26 is not found in Lincolnshire or Yorkshire and claims that 'the specific may have an older district name but no satisfactory alternative explanation is known'.²⁷ I interpret 'the specific may have an older district name' to mean that the name ender/ander may have some earlier meaning local to the area where it occurs, and that the difficulty is that we do not know what that earlier meaning is.

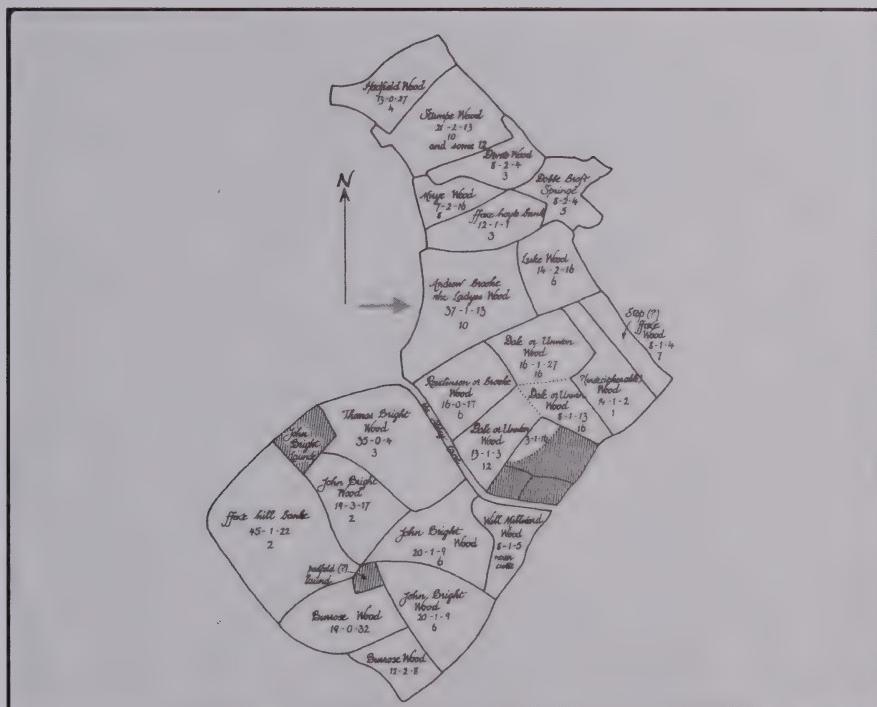
It therefore seems worthwhile to have a look at the villages called Enderby/Anderby and to look at their localities. The names on the following list are taken from Ekwall.²⁸

1. Enderby, Leicestershire (Andretesbie, Endredbie [Domesday Book], Endredby [1226 Episop. Reg])
2. Bag Enderby, Lincolnshire (Andrebie, Andredbi [Domesday Book], Endrebi [1115 Lincolnshire Survey], Bagenderby [1291 Tax])
3. Mavis Enderby, Lincolnshire (Endrebi [Domesday Book], Enderby Malbisce [1302 British Museum])
4. Wood Enderby, Lincolnshire (Endrebi [Domesday Book], Wodenderby [1198 Charter Rolls])
5. Anderby, Lincolnshire (Andreby [c. 1135 RA (Registrum Antiquissimum, Lincs Rec. Soc.], Andrebi [12 British Museum])

6. Ainderby Mires, North Yorkshire (Endrebi [Domesday Book], Aynderby in the Myre [1499 Ancient Deeds])
7. Ainderby Quernhow, North Yorkshire (Aienderbi, Andrebi [Domesday Book], Ainderby juxta Querenhow [1301 Lay Subsidy])
8. Ainderby Steeple, North Yorkshire (Einderbi [Domesday Book], Aynderby wyth Stepil [1316])

It is interesting to note that often another name is added to the name, such as Bag, Mavis, Wood, Mires, Quernhow, Steeple. The same method is found in Yorkshire with the name Appleton, e.g. Appleton-le Moors, Appleton Roebuck, etc. and its purpose is to distinguish between common place-names. A common place-name is more likely to be a generic name and not a personal name. As we said above, and as V. Watts highlighted, the difficulty is that we do not know what that generic name might mean.

The Enderby (Leics.) noted in the Domesday survey had an extensive woodland of six furlongs by four furlongs. One of the Enderbys in Lincolnshire is called Wood Enderby, suggesting woodland is its distinguishing feature.

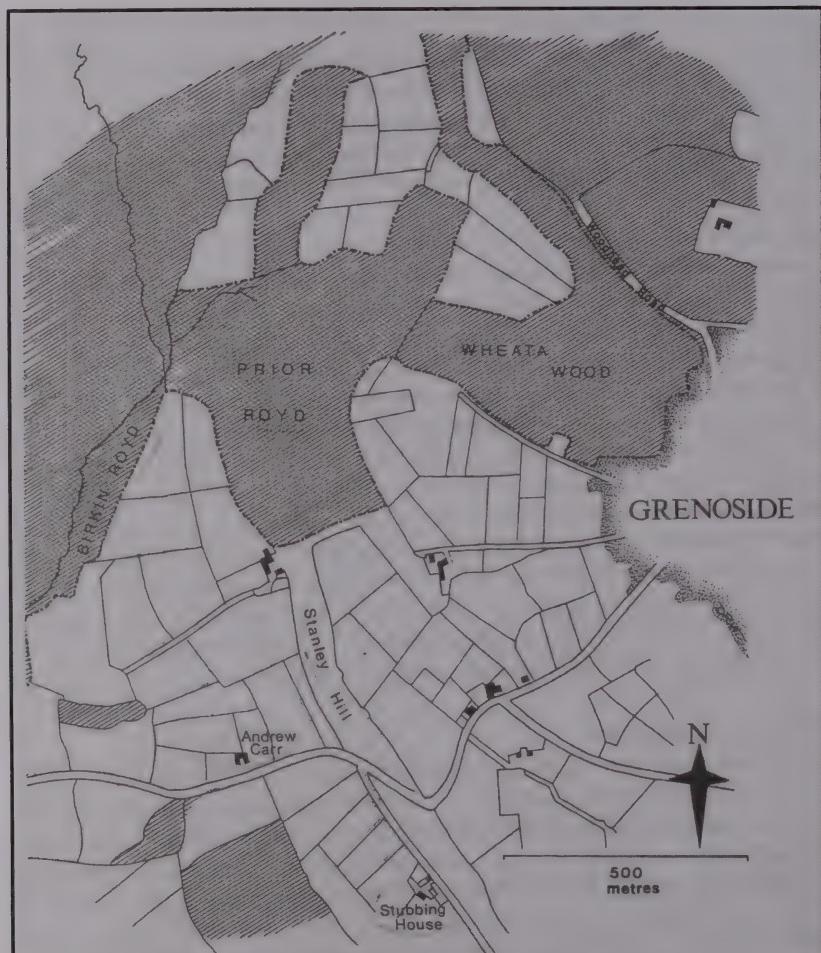


Map 5: A seventeenth-century map showing Andrew Crooke the Ladyes Wood.
Reproduced from M. Jones (2017) by permission of PLACE.

Andrew Woods in the Sheffield area

Professor M. Jones has made a comprehensive study of woodlands in the Sheffield area which has revealed two woodland areas linked to the name Andrew.²⁹ It is clear that Sheffield had previously been a heavily wooded area.

One of these ancient woodlands is Eccleshall Wood, which is still today a woodland of 300 acres on the south side of Sheffield. Map 5 is a copy of a mid-seventeenth-century map that shows the wood divided into 20 named parcels, each with its own woodland name.³⁰ Some of the names are descriptive, such as Stumpe Wood or Myre Wood, and some have personal names such as John or



Map 6: Andrew Carr, Sheffield. Reproduced from M. Jones (2017) by permission of PLACE.

Thomas Bright Wood. One of the parcels is Andrew Crooke the Laydes Wood, 13 acres. It is not possible to say whether the name Andrew is a surname name or if it is an ancient name linked with ‘crooke’, which could be a British word for ‘hill’. It is on a hill. By the time of the 1770 Survey, it is simply called Andrew Wood (see Map 5).³¹

Another large area of woodland is Grenoside on the north side of Sheffield. Many of the surviving names in the landscape, such as stubbing and carr, imply land that had once been wooded (See Map 6).³² One of these areas is called Andrew Carr, mentioned in 1445.³³



Map 7: Andrew Wood (centre right), Sheffield, as shown on 1855 OS map.

There is another Andrew name, which appears on the OS map of 1855. It lies to the west of Sheffield and it is called Andrew Wood (See Map 7).

Two Andrew names that turn up in the Rotherham area are Andreuflat (1339)³⁴ and Andrew Close (1776).³⁵

The surname Andrew is common in the Sheffield area.³⁶ In the above instances, we do not know whether it is the surname Andrew or whether the word Andrew has a special meaning linked to woodlands.

Andred

An early example of the name Andred is the Romano-British Andredesleage (477 AD)³⁷, which then became the Anglo-Saxon Andredesweald³⁸, and was eventually known as the Weald, a great forest in Kent and Sussex. Nearby is the Roman fort of Anderida, which is recorded in c. 420 AD.³⁹ (modern town of Pevensey). K. Jackson renders the word Anderida ‘Great Fords’, British *ande-ritu*,⁴⁰ and goes on to say that the meaning of ‘ande’ is contested and that he disagrees with other place-name authorities, such as Ekwall, Zachrisson and Holder, on its meaning.⁴¹ Ekwall translates the word ‘ande’ as British ‘ante’ or ‘against’. Jackson comments: ‘There is no such word and he [Ekwall] seems to have invented it.’⁴² E. Hasted writes that the Weald meant a woody country and that the Britons called it Coit Andred, ‘great wood’, and that the Latin was Saltus Andred, or ‘great forest’.⁴³ The word Andred does seem to express the notion of a forest of very great size.

There is also another site with a similar name called Anderitum in the department of Lozere in France.⁴⁴ It was a Roman town and its name is interpreted as ‘in front of a ford’. Lozere is a mountainous, heavily wooded area, described as 44 percent afforested. The significance of the forest in ancient times is suggested by one of the most important archaeological finds uncovered at Anderitum, a statue of Silvain Sucellus, a forest god and protector of the Gauls. Here again is a heavily wooded area with its most outstanding surviving artefact a statue of the woodland god, protector of the Celtic nation.

Discussion of the word Andred

Andred may be an ancient term describing the great area of forest now known as the Weald. Did the Roman fort Anderida take its name from the outstanding feature of the area, the great forest of Andred, eventually known as the Weald? It might help to have a closer look at the word Anderida (variation Anderita). It is agreed that the British ‘ritu’ means ‘ford.’ It is the ‘ande’ part of the name that is controversial. Jackson says it means British ‘great’. I have not been able to trace where this interpretation comes from. As I noted above, Jackson disagrees with the interpretation of other place-name experts, even to the extent of saying that one of their meanings must have been invented. What does the ‘great’ refer to? It does not seem likely that it refers to the size of the ford for the following reasons. ‘Ford’ names are the second most common place-names in England according to Fellows- Jensen.⁴⁵ M. Gelling writes that a large number of the qualifying words with the ford name are descriptive.⁴⁶ She goes on to say, however, that the qualifier could also have many other origins, such as topographical.

There are two similarly named Roman sites, Anderida in Britain and Anderitum in France. The outstanding landscape feature for both Roman sites is the great forest in which they are located. It has to be a possibility that the name Ande or Ander or Andred is an ancient name describing a great woodland region.

A second question that one should ask is whether it is likely that a British word such as Andred would survive in the British landscape? Both Jackson and Elgee say that it is possible. Jackson notes that ‘the British presence may survive in forest areas such as southwest of Peterborough and West Suffolk ... The British lived in hamlets and farmsteads with their individual small closes. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxons lived in villages and farmed communally with their two- and three-field systems.’ Jackson writes that ‘... enclaves of Britons might get left, in forests and moors, surrounded by the English settlements, and might continue to foster the British language long after the tide of conquest had swept far beyond them ... So there are Celtic place-names in the Pennines and Yorkshire Moor country ... The explanation is that isolated communities of Britons must have existed in the Pennines and Yorkshire Moors, still speaking British, after the English had absorbed the lower lands around them.⁴⁷ And Elgee expresses the belief that there are many more Celtic place-names on the Yorkshire Moors than is supposed, especially topographical names.⁴⁸

Conclusion

The Andrew names in this study are only a miscellany that I have chanced upon and are in no way a comprehensive record. It may be that a close look at other areas could produce an interesting selection of Andrew names.⁴⁹ It might then be possible to determine whether Andrew is a surname or whether it has some earlier meaning, perhaps a generic name with a topographical meaning.

The Domesday record suggests that our region was much more wooded than it is today. Appleton-le-Moors is one such example. The common pasture for the village had been a wooded pasture of 172 acres. The two Riddings, which had once been wooded, were 50 acres. The thirteenth-century ‘New Assart’ of 55 acres,⁵⁰ which became known as the Rigg, had been a wooded area. The large area of Appleton Common had been a wooded common. The common name for Appleton for 700 years was Woodappleton. Throughout our area there is a great survival of names in the landscape all suggesting former woodland. Some of these names are leah/ley, lund, ridding, carr, hurst, assart, fitts and thwaite and ‘cat’.

Both Jackson and Elgee agree about the survival of British names in our North York Moors area and Watts queries whether there is some older, more general meaning for the words ender/ander. Any speculation can only be tentative. I would hypothesize that a possible meaning of some of the Andrew/Andred/Ander names might be along the lines of encompassing the notion of ‘great’ in association with forest. The fragments or clusters of fragments of woods today may be linked to the notion of a ‘great wood’ in ancient times.

Notes

- ¹ M. Allison (2015), Ancient ‘Cat’ Names in the Ryedale Landscape. *Ryedale Historian*, 27, pp. 35-42.
- ² K. Jackson (1948), On Some Romano-British Place-Names. *Journal of Roman Studies*, 38, Parts 1 and 2, pp. 54-58;
- V. Watts (2004), *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 216.
- ³ NYCRO, Northallerton, Appleton-le-Moors Tithe Award.
- ⁴ Wood Survey 1552, Diss. 1540, Gascoigne Collection, Leeds City Archives.
- ⁵ Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, J. Rushton maps, Pickering Lythe, No. 44.
- ⁶ His maps are in the author’s possession.
- ⁷ G. Young (1817), *History of Whitby*, vol. 1. Whitby: Clark, Medd, pp. 89ff.
- ⁸ M. Smith (1994), *Excavated Burial Mounds of Northeast Yorkshire*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, University of Durham, pp 84-7.
- ⁹ NYCRO, Northallerton, Mulgrave Enclosure Award, 1782 and Egton Enclosure Award, 1854.
- ¹⁰ T. Bateman (1861), *Ten Years Digging in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills in the Counties of Derby, Stafford and York*. Buxton: Moorland Publishing Co.; W. Greenwell (1877), *British Barrows*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Canon Atkinson (1891), *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*. London: Macmillan; F. Elgee (1930), *Early Man in North East Yorkshire*. Gloucester: John Bellows.
- ¹¹ Borthwick Institute, University of York. A Terrier is a record of the Church of England’s land. The word ‘terrier’ derives from the Latin *terra*, meaning land. It was especially important for the Church to lay claim to their landholdings at the time of the Dissolution in the 1530s, a time when not only were monastic lands being confiscated but other Church lands were also being threatened. As a result of this threat, the Church introduced its formal claim to its landholdings, a Terrier.
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ F.H. Weston (1914), History of the Ancient Parish of Lastingham, J. Whitehead & Son, Leeds, p. 39.
- ¹⁴ NYCRO, Northallerton, Lastingham Enclosure Award.
- ¹⁵ NYCRO, Northallerton, Lastingham Tithe Award.
- ¹⁶ The term ‘stinted pasture’ meant that there was a limited number of animals allowed to graze.
- ¹⁷ Allen Mawer (1924), The Chief Elements Used in English Place-Names, p.21. Mawer writes that ‘dal’ is OE and the Scandinavian equivalent is ‘deill’ ON; the term ‘dayle’ was in common use in ME (Middle English).
- ¹⁸ Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole, B. Harrison Notebook, No. 8.
- ¹⁹ K. Jackson (1953), *Language and History in Early Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 197, 2277, 237; F. Elgee (1930), op. cit., pp 268-9.
- ²⁰ Arthur H. Whitaker (1967), The Excavation of a Romano-British Farmstead at Spaunton. *Ryedale Historian*, 3, pp 12-25.
- ²¹ G. Home (1905), *The Evolution of an English Town*, Pickering. London: J.M. Dent and Co., pp. 46-7.
- ²² C. Thomas (1981), *Christianity in Roman Britain*. London: Batsford, p. 197.
- ²³ Bede (1968), *A History of the English Church and People*. London: Penguin Books, p. 181.
- ²⁴ A. Smith (1928), *Place Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 61.
- ²⁵ As we said above, Anderdale is the earliest version, mentioned in the Terriers of 1663 and 1685. It is interesting to note that the 1663 Terrier was only discovered when I came across it by chance at the Borthwick in a box of seventeenth-century wills. It was still tightly wrapped in its original form and had never been opened. This note is the first publication of its existence.
- ²⁶ M. Gelling (1978), *Signposts to the Past*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, p. 222.
- ²⁷ V. Watt (2004), op.cit., p. 216.
- ²⁸ E. Ekwall (1980), *English Place-names*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 4, 10, 167.
- ²⁹ M. Jones (2017), Walls, Wood Banks and Worked Trees: The Archaeology and Living Archaeology of Former Coppices and Wood Pastures, in M. Atherden and V. Wallace (Eds), *Yorkshire Woodlands*. York: PLACE, pp. 8-9.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 9.
- ³¹ T.W. Hall (1924), *Court Rolls of Worsborough and Eclington*. Sheffield: T.W. Northend, p. 202.
- ³² M. Jones (2017), op. cit., p. 6.
- ³³ Liber Finium Custom, *Transactions of the Hunter Society*, vol. 1, p. 294.
- ³⁴ A. Smith (1961), *Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 153.
- ³⁵ Fairbank Papers, Sheffield Local Studies Library.
- ³⁶ I am grateful to Steve Bassett for this information.

- ³⁷ Andredesleage (477 AD), *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.
- ³⁸ P. Brandon (Ed.) (1978), *The South Saxons*. London and Chichester: Phillimore and Co., pp. 1-23, 138-156.
- ³⁹ Anderida, Roman Fort, Pevensey, Notitia Dignitatum.
- ⁴⁰ K. Jackson (1948), op.cit., pp. 54-58.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 54-58.
- ⁴² Ibid., pp. 54-58.
- ⁴³ E. Hasted (1797), *The History and Topographical Survey of Kent*. Vol. 1, p. 293.
- ⁴⁴ Website of Javols, France, a modern city in France and the site of the Roman fort of Anderitum.
- ⁴⁵ G. Fellows-Jensen (1990), *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 19, pp. 13-21.
- ⁴⁶ M. Gelling and A. Cole (2000), *The Landscape of Place Names*. Shaun Tyas, Stamford, p. 65.
- ⁴⁷ K. Jackson (1953), op.cit., pp. 197, 227, 237.
- ⁴⁸ F. Elgee (1930), op. cit., pp. 268-9.
- ⁴⁹ For example, an area in southeast Italy called Andria, the name of both a town and its surrounding region of semi-wild, hilly, rocky terrain.
- ⁵⁰ Cartulary of St Mary's York, f. 186, Dean and Chapter Library, York.

The 1996 watching brief on the Quaker burial ground at Helmsley

the late Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts

Introduction

In 1996, the Helmsley Arts Centre, housed in the former Quaker Meeting House, was extended eastward, disturbing graves in the attached cemetery; the authors carried out a watching brief on this cemetery on behalf of the Helmsley Archaeological Society, assisted by Gwynne Stock and supported by North Yorkshire County Council.¹

The Quakers were present in Ryedale from the middle of the seventeenth century. Those in Helmsley met in private premises until 1812, when the now-defunct 200-seat Meeting House was built and a burial ground established on its east side. The Kirkbymoorside and Helmsley meetings however, united in 1838, when only four Friends remained in the latter; in 1841, the Helmsley Meeting House was closed, by which time 'Quakerism had virtually ceased to exist in the town.' From 1844, although still owned by the Quakers, the building was used by the Helmsley Primitive Methodist Society, when it was known as Helmsley Bridge Street Methodist Church, until 1977. It was sold in 1984 for conversion into a cultural venue, the enlargement of which was the occasion for the present archaeological involvement.²

This Quaker burial ground is recorded as being 14.48m from east to west and 10.21m from north to south.³ The total area available for burial would have been nearly 150m sq., which accords reasonably well with the area in 1996. When archaeological work was planned, it was known that there were at least four (exterior) burials, two in 1839, one in 1844, and one in 1852, with the last two interred after the cessation of the use of the Meeting House.⁴

Excavation

Construction work began with the demolition of boundary walls and lavatory attached to the Old Meeting House and also the felling and uprooting of a tree which stood in the centre of the burial ground,⁵ after which most of the area was then lowered mechanically by about 0.43m to remove the blackish topsoil, in which were a few pottery sherds of medieval (*c.* thirteenth to fifteenth century) and later date. Mechanical trenches, *c.* 0.8m wide and of varying depths, were then dug north-south and east-west together with rectangular areas of greater depth for the foundations of upright members of the proposed building. Several graves and one feature, a probable cesspit, shown as F2 on Figure 1, were then visible. An irregular limestone bedrock was observed at the northern end of Trench A, at a depth of *c.* 2.13m below the pre-excavation surface.

The graves were visible in the reduced level as areas of yellow-brown stony soil, up to 1.8m long and 0.5m wide, and grave cuts were also visible in places in the trenches, the backfilled material in both cases representing a mixture of underlying and surface materials. Eight possible graves (1-8) were defined within the first north-south trench, Trench A, which traversed the length of a row of graves, although trench and burials did not quite align.⁶ Thus at the south end of Trench A, it was lower legs that lay within the trench, moving gradually up the body to the north, with the head

end being exposed in the northernmost grave. Parts of Graves 1, 2, 4, 5 and 8 were further exposed in Trenches B, C and F as well as Graves 9 and 10, where the most complete bodies were excavated. Of the 10 possible graves thus recognised, human skeletal remains were found in seven. All interments were then recorded and photographed, but removed with minimal delay, with only a few hours being available for excavation. They were subsequently taken to the University of Bradford, under the care of Dr Christopher Knusel.

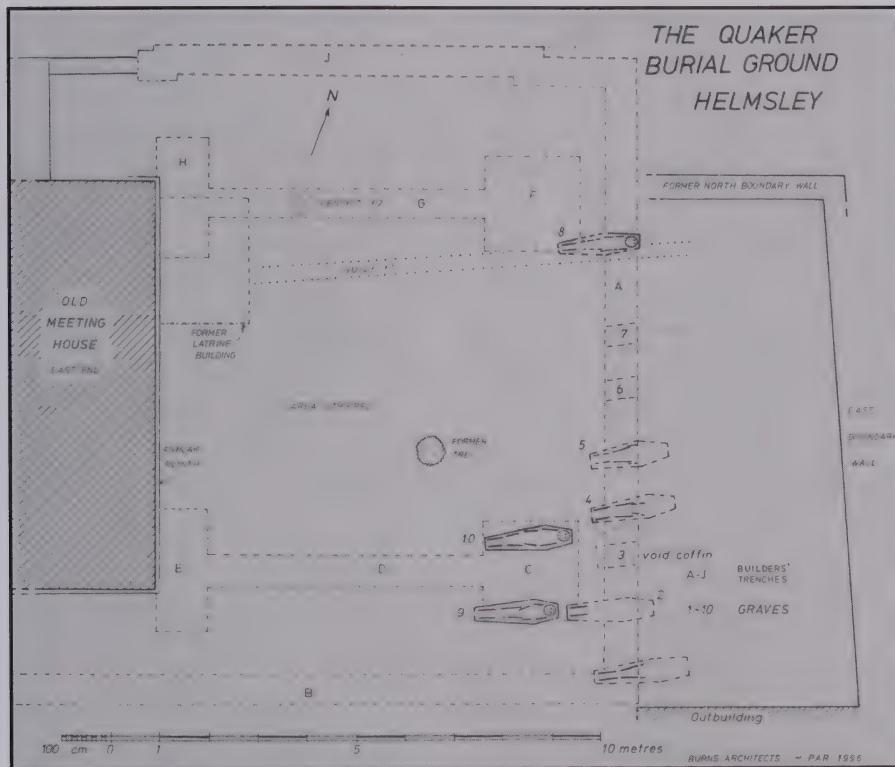


Figure 1: The Quaker Burial Ground, Helmsley. © Philip Rahtz 1996.

The graves

The graves may be described in order of the events that created them, the digging of the grave, the body container, the body within and the grave in-filling.

Orientation

All defined interments, apparently placed within ordered rows, were orientated west–east with heads at the east end; the row found in Trench A was probably the second or third from the east boundary wall, on which the graves appear to have been aligned. The systematic placing of heads

to east rather than to west is unusual in Christian cemeteries⁷, as if they were positioned to face their religious building.

Depth and size of graves

Ascertained graves varied in depth from 1.33-1.91m from the former ground surface, although Graves 3, 6 and 7 may have contained bodies below the level reached by the contractors. They were no larger than was needed to receive the coffin.⁸

Coffins and fittings

There was evidence of coffins in all defined interments, in the form of metal fittings and wood; there were also dark coffin-stains, in the case of Grave 8 with a buff stain on the flat base of the grave. The stains in Graves 8 and 9 showed that their coffins were of standard rectilinear form, but angled at the shoulder and no larger than the body size required.

Most had up to several dozen iron nails, distributed more or less evenly along the sides and ends, with wood residues up to 30mm thick, on occasion encasing residues of two different pieces of wood where a nail had been used to fix a side to ends or base. Machine-made screws with round and tinned heads were also found, seven in Grave 9 and one in Grave 10; how these were used is uncertain as they were not found *in situ*, although they are likely to have been employed to secure the coffin lids. In all cases where it could be observed, on the head and foot end of the coffin, there was fragmentary evidence of decorated plates, of thin base metal (pressed tin) with some evidence of gilding, together with iron grips (non-functional handles) of ovoid keeled section. All plates were very similar, if not identical. Grave 9 also had a small gilt-bronze hinge by the left humerus, possibly evidence of a repair of the angle where there was a 'kerf', the cut made to allow bending of the sides.



Figure 2: Fragmentary evidence of a decorated plate from Grave 8. © 1996 Philip Rahtz

Body position

With bodies tightly fitted within wooden coffins, all were supine and extended, with face upwards. Upper arms were by the body sides; the lower arms and hands either by the sides or slightly flexed over thigh or pelvis.

Body condition

This varied from very good to very poor, the latter perhaps related to age and in some cases exacerbated by metallic residues and in Grave 10 by lime. Kidner noted the advanced age of the sample; she provides details of osteological observations of the skeletons, summarised in the catalogue at the end.⁹

Body treatment

Residues of small plain copper alloy pins were seen in Graves 8, 9 and 10, in the chest area, between legs or on the skull, some leaving green stains on the bone.¹⁰ These are interpreted as shroud pins, loosely attaching shroud edges together over the body. In Graves 9 and 10, the pins appear to have been used in pairs to fasten the shrouds to hair, small areas of this being preserved by copper alloy residues and which turned the hair green.



Figure 3: Remains of hair from Grave 10. © 1996 Philip Rahtz

Fill of grave

The coffin of Grave 10 had lime around it. Otherwise, only site material was observed in the fill.

Markers

No head, foot or ledger stones were found; nor any evidence of wooden markers.¹¹ The slight irregularity of the rows would suggest that any mounds created on insertion of burials became less visible over time.

Discussion

The subsoil was clearly not an alluvial deposit of the River Rye, which runs nearby to the south; it could be either colluvial or of glacial origin.

Prior to its use for the Quaker cemetery, this area appears to have been open ground.¹²

By the time of the 1823 Tukes and Ayer map of Helmsley, the Meeting House had been placed inconspicuously at the back of properties fronting the increasingly important north-south conduit, Market Place. This was at the rear of a series of apparent burgage plots, some of which already had buildings alongside them, at right angles to the main street. Behind them to the east there was still open ground before the next street, Pottergate.¹³ The possible cess pit could fit into such a context. The Quaker cemetery was thus placed on a secluded piece of land, not immediately apparent from the street frontage. This, like the Quaker burial ground at Lowna, was probably the result of donation of land by a local member.¹⁴

Kidner has identified from documentary sources a total of 14 people, from both Helmsley and Harome, as buried here.¹⁵ The six family names represented comprise three singletons together with the Barkers, the Taylors and the Hutchinsons who were all present over several generations. Their death ages ranged from 19 to 87, with 86.7% of this small sample being over 60.¹⁶ The Taylor family is known (from a Duncombe Park Survey) in Harome from 1796. Mary Taylor's nephew, Jonathon Taylor, had taken over the rent of her house in 1838, suggesting she could no longer manage alone economically; this may also have been the reason why by 1844, Jonathon's brother, William, had moved to live with her. Blizzard suggests that both Jonathan's father and grandfather had been buried in the Helmsley Quaker burial ground, although she found no record of this (there is also no record of the burial of Jonathon, also a presumed Quaker, in Helmsley). This family was of mixed Quaker and Church of England allegiance as William had married 'out'. Blizzard also comments that the Taylors appear to have been 'comfortably off'.¹⁷ A 'Mr Taylor' (probably Jonathon) also continued to use part of the former meeting house as a school.¹⁸ Kidner concluded that 'the group was elderly but healthy, a conclusion which fits with historians and sociologists [sic] assumptions that the Quakers were an essentially middle-class group during the nineteenth century, with a longer life expectancy than average'.¹⁹

There are, however, pointers that the Quakers' relationship with the local community may have been more nuanced than we might suppose. The orderly placing of graves may have been influenced by contemporary urban practice.²⁰ The grave plates in this Quaker cemetery may not have been custom-made, but instead part of the stock-in-trade of a local undertaker who served the whole of the local community – the elements they contain are common to much contemporary grave furniture.²¹ It is also possible that the corpses in Graves 9 and 10 may have been displayed between death and burial: the faces could have been left uncovered during final viewing with the

shroud edges only folded over the face and secured by the shroud pins immediately prior to interment.²²

The watching brief thus provided a reasonably dignified mode of disinterment that resulted in a small sample of human biological material. This material can be equated with a group of documented burials of known age and limited date range, related to the limited archaeological evidence for the mortuary behaviour of non-conformist groups, here characterised in a Quaker context that is known to have served two settlements: *viz.* by the presence of grave rows, the uniformity of head at the eastern end of the grave, the presence of coffin fittings and apparent absence of marker-stones and name plates, making precise identification of burials, unlike most other contemporary cemeteries, impossible. Although the burials excavated could not be equated grave by grave with those documented, archaeobiologist Dr Christopher Knusel has stressed the importance of the availability of this long-lived study group,²³ which has opened up the links between faith and practice on the one hand and how Quakers may have accommodated themselves in the earlier nineteenth century within both their familial and local setting on the other. Overall, however, these graves accord with the Quaker practice of anonymity in death.



Figure 4: Coffin fitting from topsoil. © 1996 Philip Rahtz

Schedule of Graves

Grave 1, adult

Trench A, c.1.63m below ground level. Fill subsoil, dark and organic at base around well-preserved lower part of body. One coffin nail.

Kidner *op. cit.* note 1, 46-47, 78, Appendix I, Fig. 1, Appendix II: bones present – femur, patellae, tibiae, fibulae, calcanei, tali; probably male, adult, stature 1.765m +/- 0.0299m/c5ft7¹/2in. Periosteal reaction on tibia and femur.

Grave 2, adult

Not uncovered in Trench A as below scheduled building depth; foot end found later in deeper Trench C, c. 1.91m below ground level. Green stain on one fibula ($\frac{1}{3}$ of way down from knee) apparently from copper alloy shroud pin. Fragments of foot relief-decorated coffin plate and grip. Nails, up to 60mm long, with wood.

Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 48-50, 78, Appendix I, Fig. 2, Appendix II: bones present, tibiae, fibulae, tarsal bones; possibly male, adult, stature 1.765m +/- 0.0366m/c5ft7in. Marked difference in size of tibiae suggests a problem with pelvis, necessitating more weight-bearing on left leg and including osteoarthritic changes to foot.

Grave 3

Trench A, void of coffin between 1.33 – 1.54m below ground level (not seen in Trench C). Subsoil fill above this with organic residues continuing downwards to c. 2m below ground level. Although no bone observed, this may have been a deeper burial.

Grave 4, adult

Trench A, 1.63m below ground level. In dark organic soil below subsoil fill. Left hand over pelvis, right hand over top of right thigh. Coffin nail with wood residue.

Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 51-60, 78, Appendix I, Fig. 3, Appendix II: just over 50% of skeleton in poor state of preservation; probably male, mean age 60, but with range of 42-87; stature 1.67+/- 0.0299m /c5ft4in.

Fractures likely to be associated with accidental falls, including Colles' fracture of left radius, well-healed; mandible 'severely distorted'; evidence of osteoarthritis; Phearthes' Disease and associated complications.

Grave 5, adult

Trench A, 1.78m below ground surface. Dark soil below subsoil fill. Bones damaged by machine and in poor state where associated with decorated base-metal coffin fittings; also wood residues of coffin.

Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 61-63, 78, Appendix I, Fig. 4, Appendix II: bones present – left arm and carpal bones, right radius, sacrum fragments, *os coxae*, femora, vertebrae; female; mean age 48.1, within range of 42-87; pathological conditions include in vertebral column and pelvis.

Grave 6

Trench A, 1.78m below ground level. Apparent base of grave indicated by dark soil below subsoil fill. No bones - ?a deeper burial.

Grave 7

Trench A, disturbance noted in both sections, extending down to 1.33m below ground level. Fill of loose subsoil. This is where next member of row might have been expected, but no dark soil at base nor bone - ?a deeper interment.

Grave 8, adult (Fig. 2)

Trench A and extending into Trench F, at north end, just south of boundary wall; in Trench A 1.33m from ground level, in Trench F 1.18m below ground level. As shallow, struck by machine and fragmented. Subsequent examination revealed pale buff coffin stain, including part of east (head) end, with nails *in situ* driven in from exterior and clenched over, indicating wood thickness of c30mm. Coffin stain also visible in mid-lower leg region; base visible in this area as hard yellow-buff stain with definite upper interior surface. In Trench F, large rocky natural reached at c. 2.13m below ground level. Part of body between the two trenches not recovered and some bones broken; feet tightly within coffin. Two dozen iron nails (up to 60mm long) with wood residues; part of slender iron grip with gilt residues, 0.85m long, keeled ovoid section, rod extensions; fragments of foot coffin plate with decorative grip, held by two square-sectioned iron nails 17mm long, found in upright position. Note that Grave 8's uneven depth (with the foot end tilted slightly upwards) was conditioned by the natural, apparently rising at this point from east to west. Might this be the reason that Grave 8 was the only grave found so far north?

Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 64-65, 78, Appendix I, Fig. 5, Appendix II: much of upper and lower body; probably male; mature adult; estimate height 1.76m. Overall healthy individual, although slight healed periosteal reaction is evident in tibiae; osteoarthritis in thoracic spine; ossified Achilles tendon. Also a cow bone (proximal tibial epiphysis) and a non-human rib.

Grave 9, adult

Trench C, void at 1.43m below ground level, skull struck slightly by machine. Coffin stain upper edge visible at 1.83m below ground level, c1m wide. Left side of body under south side of grave. Right arm across pelvis, left hand by side. Skull hard against east end of coffin; hair residue greenish, in middle of head (*cf* Grave 10) and 2 fragments of ?skin residue from right hand side of vertebra c. two-thirds of way down, all preserved by CA. End-plates and grips at both ends, held onto coffin by slender CA pins, clearly more decorative than functional. Two CA shroud pins from left chest area, at base of top third, where bone stained green; another from right side of vertebrae, c. two-thirds of way down; and another from just below pelvis (13, 14, 15 and 21mm long, 1-2mm in diameter, one with pointed end). Another CA shroud pin, 20mm long and pointed, bent in middle at angle of c40 degrees. H-shaped piece of CA hinge with three pins on each side (one missing) on south side of left humerus;

?too small for anything but a repair; exterior faces of hinge exhibit traces of gilding. 7 screws, 2 x 37mm long, 5 x 30mm long (37mm ones have 9mm diameter heads that are tinned, with 45-degree countersunk shoulders; the others also have 9mm heads but no evidence of tinning). Are these from lid? Nails up to 60mm long + wood Kidner, *op.cit.*, 66-71, Appendix I, Fig. 6, Appendix II: one of most complete skeletons, including teeth; probably female, an older adult above age of 60; stature 1.71-1.90m +/- 0.0355m. Gracile, although long bones have evidence for heavy musculature; osteoarthritis in cervical vertebral column; crush fracture of right patella; various abnormal bony projections or enthesophytes.

Grave 10, adult (Fig. 3)

Trench C, at 1.83m below ground level, skull damaged by machine and hard against east end of coffin. Lime in grave fill and around coffin stain. Right arm by right thigh, left hand across left thigh. Very fragmented plates that appear to have been convex and with rounded corners, with grips at either end, set on plate; very corroded but decorated and ‘silvery’ on both sides; ?gilding (?CA) on *inner* side of plate attached to handle. Handles ovoid in section with ‘keel’ on edges; probably pressed tin. One grip has ‘bubbling’ corrosion rather than relief-decoration, the other clearly plain. Ends of the grips project into a circular-sectioned extension, which pivots in a loop of ?iron, taken through the plate and ?turned over at back to fix position. About 30 nails, up to 62mm long with wood residues; one screw 25mm+. Where wood could be measured, up to c25mm thick. In some cases, nail goes through two directions of grain, presumably from where had gone through two members of the coffin. A thinner member of 15mm thickness was probably from a side panel. One larger piece of wood survives (135 x 25 x 20mm) between one of the end plates and some substance (?corrosion) on the inside. Here wood is precisely 18mm below the two metallic residues; inner one may be the *inner ends* of fasteners which go right through. Green stain on ?left tibia half way down. Fragment of green-coloured hair preserved by two CA shroud pins through it near back of top of skull; also stubby CA shroud pin from top one third of left ribs. Kidner, *op. cit.*, 72-76, Appendix I, Fig. 7, Appendix II: c80% of body, well-preserved; ??female; 60+ and possibly much older; stature 1.72-1.36m +/-0.0299m/c5ft6in. Evidence of osteoarthritis in spinal column and right humerus; right patella has possible osteochondritis dissecans; possible fracture of right foot; edentulous mandible containing one tooth.

Notes

¹ In 1995 North Yorkshire County Council agreed that a watching brief on the contractors’ work would meet archaeological requirements, which Martin Vander Weyer, director of the Arts Centre, asked Helmsley Archaeological Society to facilitate. Licence No. 23128 was kindly supplied by the Home Office. Appropriate conditions were also laid down by Tony Stuttard, Environmental Health Officer of Ryedale District Council who visited the site as work was in progress. The contractors were very skilful at clearing down to just-above interment level wherever possible with minimal damage. Gwynne Stock was then working on a thesis on Quaker burial grounds under the aegis of the University of Bournemouth; we gratefully acknowledge his help. We would also like to thank Professor Richard Morris for useful advice and Dr Andrew (Bone) Jones for encouragement and liaison with the University of Bradford. Two dissertations have been produced there using this material: Susan E. Kidner, *An Investigation into the Quaker Way of Death – Towards an Archaeology of Nonconformism* (dissertation submitted for partial requirement of the Degree of Master by Advanced Study in Human Osteology and Pathology, University of Bradford, 2002; a second, by Victoria Whitehead, also in 2002, has not been seen by the authors (info. A. Jones). It was agreed by both the Quakers and the Helmsley Art Centre that all this material should remain as a study collection at Bradford (letter from Ivy Broadhurst, clerk of Religious Society of Friends [Quakers] in Britain Pickering and Hull Monthly Meeting, Minute PHMM/97/122 Helmsley Meeting House Burial Ground [1997]; and letter from Martin Vander Weyer to PAR [24.1.1998] noting that the trustees of the Helmsley Art Centre had agreed to this [19.1.1998]). The archive will be deposited with the National Parks Office, Helmsley; this includes colour photographs of the coffin fittings.

² A. Law (1963), *Nonconformity: Quakerism, Dr Conyers, Methodism*, in J. McDonnell (Ed.), *A History of Helmsley and District*. York: Stonegate Press, pp. 200-253, especially pp. 228-231; quote at p. 231. D.M. Butler (1999), *The Quaker Meeting Houses of Britain*. London: Friends Historical Society, p.739. For the background to non-conformism in Helmsley and Ryedale, see B. Sheils (2014), *A Quiet Reformation: The Church in Ryedale from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (2011 Kirkdale Lecture). Kirkdale: The Trustees of the Friends of St Gregory’s Minster.

³ These details are from the deeds in the possession of Powell and Young, Solicitors, Pocklington (letter, 10.6.1986). This can be compared with the 238.75m of Kirkbymoorside’s Quaker cemetery (G. Stock, letter 22.10.1995).

⁴ *Viz*, Thomas Barker, died 16.6.1839, of Helmsley, grocer and draper; Mary Taylor, died 13.9.1839, of Harum, single; Mary Barker, died 2.6.1844, of Helmsley, single, aged 82; Ann Taylor, died 14.6.1852, of Harum.
This information was kindly supplied by Michael Rowntree of the Quaker community, Kirkbymoorside (letter, 2.5.1996).

⁵ When work began on 15 April 1996, ground level was c. 0.15m below the ashlar offset course of the Old Meeting House. A ring count of this tree suggested an age of about 50 years.

⁶ There was a difference of c. 5 degrees between the two alignments.

⁷ This orientation was usually reserved for priests in Catholic and Church of England churches, as for example at Deerhurst in the medieval period, evidenced by the presence of a chalice and paten.

⁸ The average depth of burials in local Quaker sites is recorded as having been between 1.22-1.83m (G. Stock, letter 28.3.1996).

⁹ Cf Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 44-87.

¹⁰ Whether shroud pins at head level were gender-related is difficult to determine because of the uncertainty in sexing these skeletons.

¹¹ Even given excavation conditions, it is likely that both post holes and wood would have been observed. G. Stock notes that Quakers were 'advised against' memorial stones from 1717 to 1850 (letter, 31.5.1996). For Quaker attitudes towards burial grounds, see Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, pp. 7-9.

¹² Cf 1792 and 1823 maps in McDonnell (Ed.), *op. cit.*, note 2, pp. 322 and 311.

¹³ Cf note 12 above.

¹⁴ Quakers are said to have acquired their own burial grounds either through 'sheer necessity' or 'to make a public statement', Butler, *op. cit.*, note 2, p. 902.

¹⁵ *Viz*:

Mary Barker, died 1813, aged 73;

Robert Taylor, died 1814, aged 87;

Mary Awmack, died 1819, aged 82;

John Henry Hutchinson, died 1826, aged 18;

Simeon Hutchinson, died 1830, aged 85;

Leonard Snowden, died 1830, aged 65;

Mary Hutchinson, died 1832, aged 84;

Isaac Taylor, died 1833, aged 19;

John Hutchinson, died 1837, aged 63;

Thomas Barker's age at death in 1839 is supplied from this data as 65;

John Barker, died 1848, aged 81;

George Todd, died 1852, aged 65;

Ann Taylor's age at death in 1852 is supplied from this data as 82;

Simeon Hutchinson, died 1857, aged 78.

Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, 36-37, using *Order for Burials, Helmsley P.M. 1835-1868* and *Yorkshire Q.M. Register of Burials 1776-1837*.

¹⁶ Two died in their teens = 14.3%; four died in their 60s = 28.6%; two died in their 70s = 14.3%; six died in their 80s = 42.8%.

¹⁷ E. Blizzard (late 1990s), The Taylor Family of Harome, *Harome Herald*, late 1990s.

¹⁸ Butler, *op. cit.*, note 2, p. 739. On Quaker education, *ibid.*, pp. 925-927.

¹⁹ Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1.

²⁰ Note the apparent contrast with the rural Quaker cemetery of Lowna.

²¹ Cf P. Rahtz (1981), Artefacts of Christian Death, in S.C. Humphreys and H. King (Ed.), *Mortality and Immortality: The Anthropology and Archaeology*. London: Academic Press, pp. 117-136.

²² Kidner, *op. cit.*, note 1, pp. 39-40 however questions the lack of [surviving] evidence of any jaw-restraint.

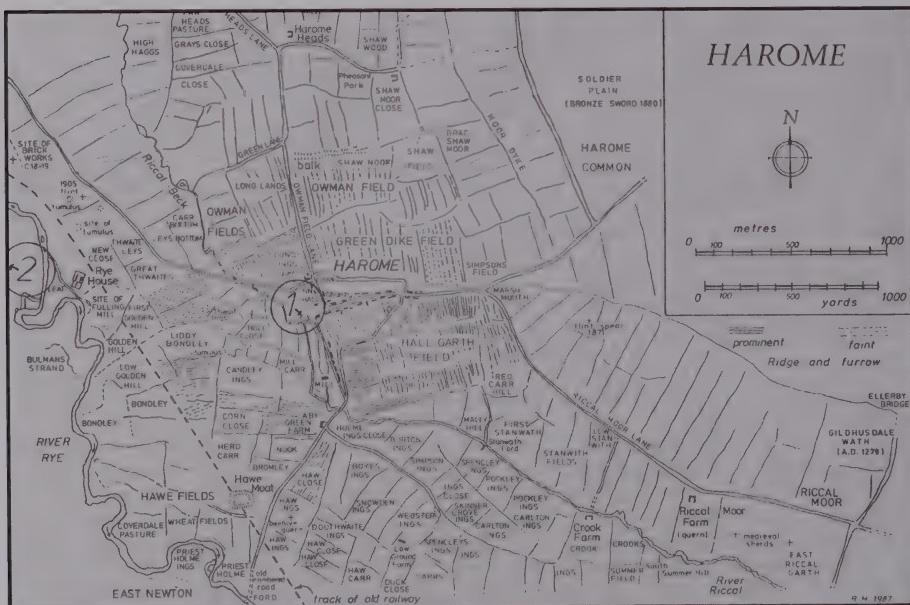
²³ Letter, 29.10.97.

A note on the name of Harome

the late Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts¹

Harome is a small village between Helmsley and Kirkbymoorside. The significance of its name, meaning something to do with stones, is uncertain. Ekwall took it to be the dative plural of an Old English word meaning 'stone' or the like²; Hayes and Allison tentatively suggested the 'Har' element could perhaps refer to a tumulus,³ while Victor Watts interpreted it as '(the place, farm, settlement) at the rocks'⁴. Margaret Gelling thought it important that the name is a metonymic, where the particular is used for the general.⁵

Harome is low lying and has no known menhirs or standing stones; the only obvious candidates are millstones. Harome occurs as a distinct place in Domesday Book, although no reference was made to a mill.⁶ The village still has a standing, but no longer used, mill situated between the sites of the two medieval manor houses, but closer to the one near to the eventual chapel and later church site. Mill Lane is on marginally lower ground than the houses of the main village, but still on land that in the extreme rain events of recent years has not flooded. The present mill is fed from a pond to its west.⁷ It has been established that the source of the water in this pond is derived from the River Rye in Duncombe Park via an underground passage in the limestone.⁸



Map 1: Harome pond and its water source: (1) the pond and (2) source of its water from the River Rye in Duncombe Park about 2.5 km away. © 1987 Raymond Hayes. The map first appeared in the *Ryedale Historian* 14 (1988-89). Reproduced by permission of the estate of Raymond Hayes and the Helmsley Archaeological and Historical Society.

This explains why the feeder pond to the mill neither dries up nor floods. The ability of a mill to have functioned continually, subject to neither an excess nor a dearth of water, would have been highly valued at times when bread provided the staple food of much of the population. An indication of its value can be envisaged from the Domesday record of Kirkbymoorside: it was sufficiently important to this major multiple estate to have been included in its assets.⁹ And hence the application in the Anglo-Saxon period of the attribute most characteristic of the mill – its stones – to the settlement itself.

Whether this significance of the Harome water source had been appreciated earlier, particularly in the Roman period, is unknown. The area behind the present mill has not been explored.¹⁰ Beadlam villa lies less than 2.5kms to the northwest of the present village; a track that passes the present mill and the villa site has been suggested.¹¹ This should be borne in mind if ever the opportunity arises to evaluate this possibility.

Notes

¹ This note was written in 2008 but not finalised until 2020.

² E. Ekwall (1936), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*, 4th ed., p. 220.

³ R. Hayes and M. Allison (1988-89), Harome: The History of a Village. *Ryedale Historian* 14, p. 18.

⁴ V. Watts (2000-01), Some Ryedale Place-Names. *Ryedale Historian* 20, p. 12.

⁵ Personal comment to the authors in the 1990s.

⁶ M. Faull and M. Stinson (Ed.) (1986) (23N21), *Domesday Book 30 Yorkshire*. This is, however, not regarded as a complete record of all facilities. An Old English place-name presupposes the existence of its referent.

⁷ Until about the Second World War, the springs on the side of this pond were still used to wash butter (information from the late Mrs E. Pickard in the early 1990s).

⁸ This was established by putting a coloured dye into the Rye at Duncombe Park and observing the re-emergence of coloured water in Harome pond (information from Christopher Binks; cf Eastmead [1824], p. 435). The near-constant temperature of the water that results from its long-underground sojourn can be appreciated in very cold weather when the surface is alive with mist.

⁹ Cf note 6 above.

¹⁰ Access to the area behind the present mill together with the adjacent millstream is not available.

¹¹ By the late Mrs Grace Wood.

Book Reviews

St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Investigations and Historical Context

by Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts (2021)

Publisher: Archaeopress

ISBN: 9781789694826

Price: Paperback, £48.

33 colour and 140 black and white illustrations

An appreciation

The church in Kirkdale has attracted archaeological interest for a long time, and for very good reason. First, in its south wall is the sundial with the unusually detailed inscription naming Orm Gamalson as the person who bought the church when it was all broken down and who also rebuilt it, naming also the then earl of Northumbria, Tostig, in whose period of office, that is 1055-65, the rebuilding apparently took place. Those parts of the church which have been interpreted as belonging to Orm Gamalson's building, especially the west wall of the nave, including a characteristically eleventh-century arch, and the lower parts of the chancel arch, are thus rare examples of pre-Conquest architecture with written evidence of their date. Second, numerous early sculptured stones built into the fabric of the church offer further evidence for Orm Gamalson's church and what came before it, especially the two finest, the grave-covers now in the north aisle whence they were removed from the west wall in the early twentieth century. They are of high quality and dated by their style to the eighth and ninth centuries. Third, a relatively undisturbed site in the valley of the Hodge Beck, where the church stands in splendid isolation, a site which was begging for archaeological survey and excavation.

To the good fortune of everyone interested not only in the history of Kirkdale but also in wider themes of early medieval history, the archaeologist, and founding professor of the York University Department of Archaeology, Philip Rahtz, lived in the nearby village of Harome, and he and his archaeologist wife, Lorna Watts, were asked in 1994 to examine the area around the nineteenth-century west tower in relation to structural concerns about its stability. That approach led to a series of excavations, surveys, and research work over the succeeding years. It was a partnership with many, many specialists – in human bones, in sculpture, in metalwork, in all aspects of the site – but above all it was a partnership with Lorna, to whom we are all indebted for the long and taxing years of work after Philip's death in 2011 which have made possible the completion and publication of this report.

Thanks to Philip and Lorna's excavations, fieldwork and research, the importance of Kirkdale as a site of archaeological and historical importance has been greatly increased. The excavations around the church involved three trenches around the west tower, no less than five trenches along the north side of the nave and vestry, and a small trench east of the south porch. There was also detailed survey work and stone-by-stone drawing, and there was a geophysical survey of the interior of the church. In 2015, Lorna organised a research seminar at Kirkdale involving leading

specialists in pre-Conquest churches, and the results of their discussions have also made significant contributions to this book. In the vicinity of the church, three more excavations were carried out, one at the far end of the field north of the church (the North Field), where the old roadway crosses the Hodge Beck by a ford; one in the middle of that field to investigate an intriguing feature shown by another geophysical survey; and one just beyond the churchyard wall. This work in itself makes Kirkdale an early church of the first importance, for few churches have had such systematic excavation and research devoted to them. As the report emphasises, only around 0.36% of the area potentially available for excavation was trenched, but the richness of the results is nonetheless striking, as is the contribution it makes to our understanding.

First, with regard to the church which Orm Gamalson built, the double plinth, probably of late Anglo-Saxon date, around the exterior of the vestry suggests that part at least of the vestry and north aisle (although the walling is later medieval in date) may be built on foundations provided by Orm Gamalson's church. The discovery of a metalworking area in the North Field offers insight into the processes by which the church was built; and the burials excavated outside the west wall cast light on those who may have patronised and used the church, especially the sarcophagus for which the report favours an eleventh-century date.

Second, with regard to the church in the period before Orm Gamalson, especially important was the cemetery excavated in the North Field, since it has graves of men, women, and children of the eighth to the tenth centuries, arranged in clusters possibly representing family or other groups. This shows that this was not the cemetery of a monastic community, which is consistent with the lack of evidence for a monastic layout, a perimeter bank for example, or a dormitory, which Philip and Lorna had expected to find at excavations in the field. The excavations in the field, however, did yield remarkably rich evidence for the status of the church in the eighth and ninth centuries, namely an inscribed lead plaque, a rare and exclusive object for its period, and an equally rare and exclusive glass fragment decorated with *reticella* or lace pattern. Among the various new discoveries of sculptured stones at Kirkdale, a previously unknown, fragmentary cross-head of the eighth or ninth centuries, discovered in an excavation on the north side of the church, has provided further evidence for that period.

Third, with regard to activity at Kirkdale in the late Roman or immediately post-Roman period, half a glass bead of Roman date, a coin of the emperor Constantine (306-37) and a fragment of a Roman bottle may have come from early Anglo-Saxon graves since lost, but may alternatively have derived from Roman activity at the site. The discovery of a possible Roman column base, together with intriguing remains on the north side of the church, may point to the presence of a Roman building.

The report is not only full and detailed, it is also superbly presented with photographs, plans, sections, and drawings, many from Philip's hand, beautifully reproduced. An illuminating discussion of the valley in which Kirkdale sits is followed by detailed reports on the various excavations, all with very helpful syntheses and summaries of the periods revealed. There follows a full catalogue by E. Craig-Atkins of the human bones recovered, and an equally full catalogue of the artefacts recovered, including a scientific report on the inscribed lead plaque. There is, in addition, a new catalogue by Richard Bailey, updating that of James Lang in *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (London: British Academy 1991),

and dealing with all the sculptured stones from the site, including those discovered in the excavations.

Philip's wish to have his sites contextualised widely in order to bring out their importance for understanding the past is amply fulfilled by the final chapter, devoted to 'overview and interpretation'. This makes no pretence at offering definitive solutions to the questions which Kirkdale raises; rather, it opens up many areas for discussion and further research. It is especially illuminating in its discussion of the potential relationship of Kirkdale to neighbouring sites in Ryedale and on the fringes of the North Yorkshire Moors. Intriguing is the possible role of the Roman villas at Beadlam and Hovingham for the Roman and immediately post-Roman development of the site. Intriguing too is the potential role of Kirkdale in the eighth and ninth centuries in an area notably rich in churches of that date, including Stonegrave and Coxwold, referred to in a letter to the pope in the 750s; Hovingham with its richly carved slab, apparently from a shrine, of the late eighth or early ninth century; and Lastingham, with the role as a monastery assigned to it in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

Aside from the inscription on the sundial, Kirkdale in the early Middle Ages is almost undocumented, even the relevant entry in *Domesday Book* being very problematic to interpret, so the results of excavation, survey, and fieldwork are crucial to its history. The report nevertheless does not disregard the importance of the inscription, opening up a discussion of the relationship between Kirkdale and nearby Kirkbymoorside, which was a centre of the estates of the *Ormr* who appears in *Domesday Book*, and is plausibly identified with the Orm Gamalson recorded in the Kirkdale inscription. The report also considers more general themes relating to activities at Kirkdale. It reviews, for example, the evidence that Kirkdale might have been the place called *Cornu Vallis* in the anonymous *Lives of the Abbots of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow*. It considers the significance of the church's dedication to Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). And it reviews the evidence for the importance of the cult of relics at Kirkdale, including the inscription on the lead tablet which seems to refer to a 'bone-chest', possibly a container for saints' relics, and the evidence of the two richly sculptured grave-covers now in the north aisle, the decoration of one of which was meant to represent textiles. There is, in short, a great deal in this dense and exacting report which advances knowledge and understanding of Kirkdale and its importance more widely, while at the same time laying the foundation for the more extensive research which Philip would have wanted to see undertaken. To him, we should be profoundly grateful for this as a final contribution to his subject, and to Lorna equally, not only for her expertise and scholarship, but also for her enthusiasm, acumen, and tenacity in bringing this very complex project to such a splendid completion.

David Rollason
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Kingship, Society, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire

by Thomas Pickles (2018)

Publisher: Oxford University Press

ISBN: 9780198818779

Price: Hardback, £95

43 black and white illustrations

Tom Pickles' book is an impressive work that brings together archaeology, history, art and, to a more limited extent, anthropology to give a nuanced understanding of early medieval Yorkshire. He uses this interdisciplinary approach to re-examine the role of kings in conversion and to emphasize that local kin groups were an important part of the process that manifested itself in church building. He frames his study around the 'minster model' which, briefly, holds that in the seventh century monasteries of monks and nuns were also centres of conversion for their territory. Thus 'minsters' – the Old English word for monasteries – were centres of clergy, who ministered to the population at large. This system gradually disappeared from the eighth century onwards as laymen founded churches and provided pastoral care for the people on their lands.

There are six chapters. The first, 'The Kingdom of the Deirans, 450–650', is a detailed look at the archaeology, especially the burial evidence, some of which shows northern German and southern Scandinavian settlements. Pickles focuses on the cemeteries in the Driffield basin to show that an elite emerged as it accumulated more wealth than others. There are no contemporary historical sources but later histories and copies of early poems do shed considerable light on this period. The remainder of Chapter One discusses societal relationships: kinship, marriage, lordship, communities, social status, gender identities and age cycles, religious beliefs, and kingship, concluding that kings acted with the consent of the kin group and that conversion to Christianity took place after communities had become familiar with Christian beliefs through pre-existing British institutions.

Chapter Two – 'The Ecclesiastical Aristocracy, 600–730' – traces the first generation of ecclesiastics from conversion to positions of responsibility and then examines the second and following generations who were born into Christian families. The majority were secular nobles when they entered the church. Entrants to a religious life were expected to adopt a new identity, as the Rules of St Benedict required, and therefore became distinct from the lay aristocracy. These Rules required them to forego class distinctions and worldly goods and to accept seniority based on length of service.

The third and fourth chapters look at the changing relationships between kings and nobles resulting from Christianisation and the changing nature of kingship relative to kin groups between 600 and 867. As some nobles became ecclesiastics (either monastics or clergy), others remained laymen but converted to Christianity. The ecclesiastical aristocracy established religious communities at strategic locations that promoted parochial care to the laity and these communities became the mother churches of extensive parishes during the succeeding centuries.

Chapter Five – 'Kingship, Social Change, and the Church, 867–1066' – reviews the complex and at times confusing history of the Scandinavian invasions and settlements and the resulting changes in rulers. Both the Scandinavians and the English kings worked closely with religious communities

(most evident in the history of the Community of St Cuthbert) and the archbishops of York to establish and maintain their power. A part of this power was based on patronage of religious institutions. Chapter Six – ‘Religious Communities, Local Churches, and the Laity, 867–1066’ – discusses the evidence for the survival of local religious communities and their lands in parishes, with a particular focus on place-names with Kirkby or Kirby and in those places that retain stone sculpture with Christian subjects.

In his concluding chapter, Pickles draws together the strands from individual chapters to conclude that kinship played an important role in conversion and in the establishment of religious communities and church building. His argument for the importance of local kin groups takes the consideration of early medieval conversion and an ecclesiastical aristocracy into new directions by using sociological ideas. It is a difficult approach to use because we know so little about pre-conversion societal structures and kin group status, or social stratification. Neither can we compare this period to the conversion and post-conversion periods. Further difficulties are the small sample size and the bias of later medieval writing. Nevertheless, further research into local Yorkshire areas can test his theory.

The book is meticulously referenced and the bibliography provides excellent sources for further reading. Non-specialists may find the book daunting but there is much that local historians will be able to use to follow up and put the author’s ideas to the test.

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Interpreting Medieval Effigies: The Evidence from Yorkshire to 1400

by Brian and Moira Gittos (2019)

Publisher: Oxbow Books

ISBN: 9781789256857

Price: Paperback, £35

77 colour and 303 black and white illustrations

This heavily illustrated book is the culmination of over 40 years of study. It should interest specialist and non-specialist alike because the authors have described the effigies, explained the context, unravelled their history and analysed their meaning as far as is possible in an accessible way.

After an introduction to the background against which Yorkshire effigies were constructed, the Gittos describe the types of people who have been commemorated and how they are depicted, sometimes being able to name an individual. An extensive section focuses on details of costume, armour and equipment and which reveal much about real-life medieval society.

Chapter Three – ‘Monuments in Context’ – explains the varieties of effigies that exist, e.g. some freestanding, others in canopied recesses and on tomb chests. Few are still in their original setting, making them difficult to interpret, but the Gittos’ knowledge allows them to infer how the effigies

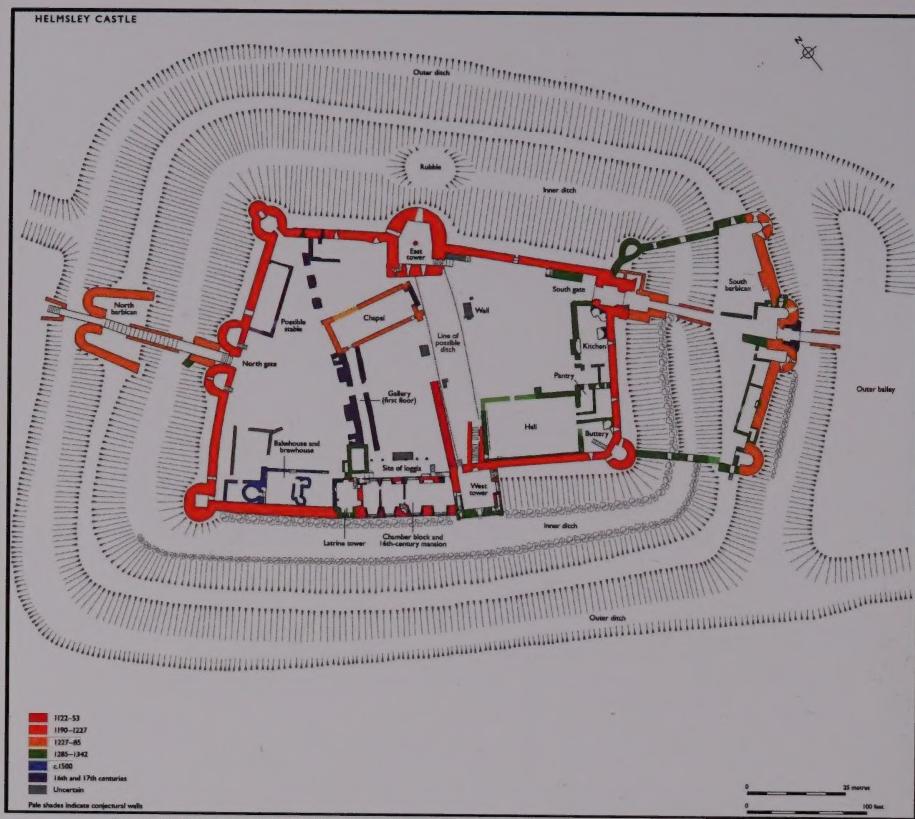
would have appeared to contemporaries. In the fourth chapter, the authors look at the sculptors and the stone (and to a lesser extent, wood) they used. They are able to identify the sources of some of the stone and suggest when the carvings may have been produced at quarries, at churches or at abbeys or in a workshop. The long sections on techniques and particular unnamed masons who produced multiple effigies show the best monuments created by the few; and they highlight that the majority were locally produced and one-off efforts and likely to be commissioned by the less wealthy.

This is followed by a discussion of the known and unknown patrons and the symbolism of the monuments. The effects of the Scottish wars and the presence of royal administrations of Edwards I, II and III in York during this period are considered. The major landowners played significant parts in administration and war and a number have been identified as patrons and their background explained. The section on the symbolic aspects gives the reader, particular one new to the subject, an appreciation and understanding of effigies.

The concluding chapter uses a priest's monument at Welwick Church as a case study to show how to use archaeological methods with historical research to describe, explain and understand the effigy. There are eight appendices indexed in the printed edition which are available online to download.

The book has been a joy to read for someone who has not paid particular attention to effigies when visiting churches. The depth of knowledge and the approachable nature of the Gittos' writing makes their work indispensable. The approach taken varies from other books in that the catalogue has been relegated to an appendix and not printed in the book, while it is the interpretation that is the most extensive and interesting part – so the book does exactly what is says on the cover.

*Christiane Kroebel
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Plan 1: Helmsley Castle. © Historic England Archive/English Heritage Trust.



Plan 2: Ground floor of the West Tower. Drawing by Jacqueline Chadwick.